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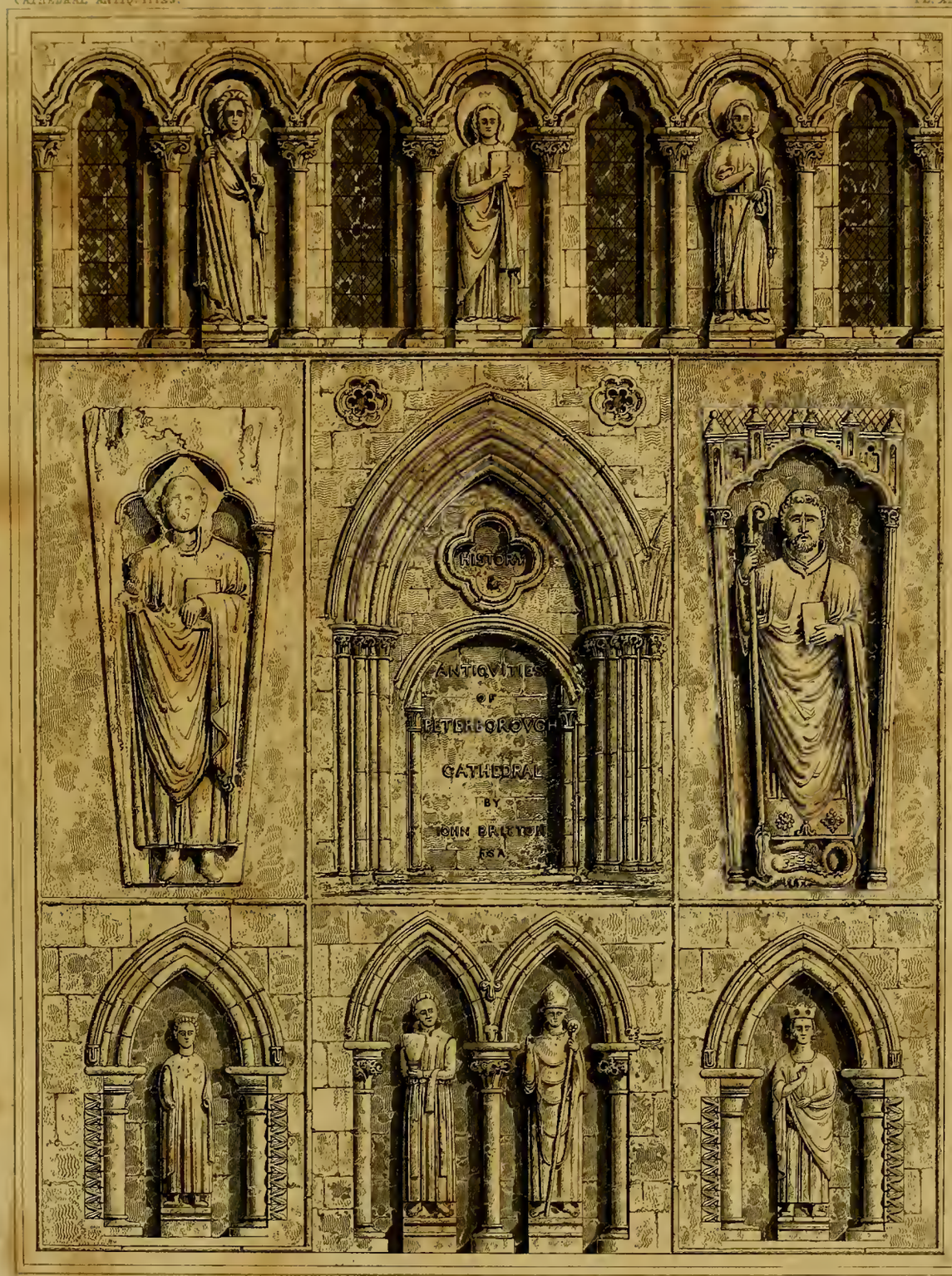

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PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

NICHES, &c. WEST FRONT.

To the REV.d I. S. PRATT, B. C. L. Prebendary of Peterborough Cathedral &c. this plate is inscribed by the AUTHOR.

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THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

THE ABBEY, AND CATHEDRAL CHURCH

OF

Peterborough:

ILLUSTRATED BY

A SERIES OF ENGRAVINGS

OF

VIEWS, ELEVATIONS, PLANS, AND DETAILS

OF THE

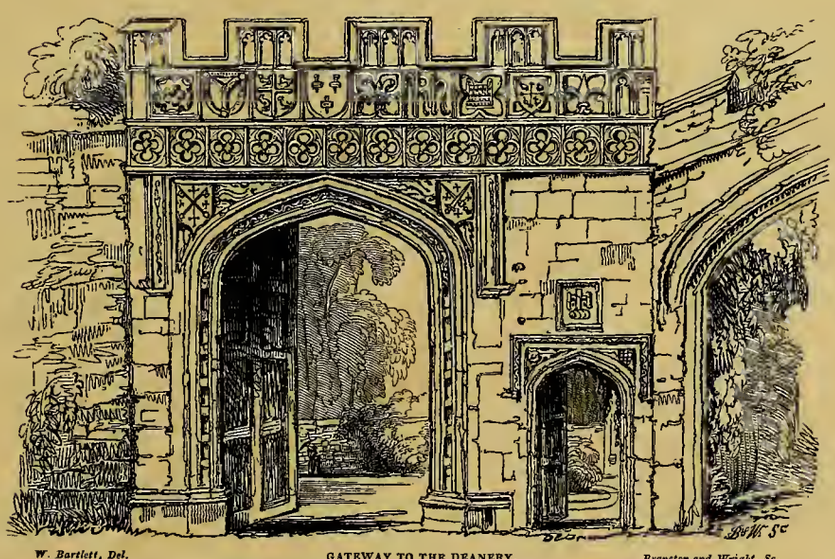
ARCHITECTURE OF THE CHURCH;

WITH

Biographical Anecdotes of Eminent Persons connected with the Establishment.

BY JOHN BRITTON, F.S.A. M.R.S.L.

AND MEMBER OF OTHER ENGLISH, FOREIGN, AND SCOTCH SOCIETIES.



W. Bartlett, Del. GATEWAY TO THE DEANERY. *Branston and Wright, Sc.*

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1828.

C. and C. Whittingham, Chiswick.

TO THE VERY REVEREND

JAMES HENRY MONK, D.D.

DEAN OF PETERBOROUGH, ETC.

DEAR SIR,

INDEBTED as I am to you for personal kindness, for the interest you have taken in promoting this Publication, and particularly for the useful assistance you have rendered in correcting the literary part of the ensuing Essay, I cannot better testify my gratitude and esteem than by offering the Volume to the Public under the sanction of your Name and Patronage. If you can award to it only a small portion of that zeal which you have so meritoriously exerted in behalf of the repairs and ornaments of your Cathedral, you will thereby increase the obligations conferred on

Your obliged and obedient servant,

JOHN BRITTON.

JUNE 14, 1828.

PREFACE.

The present volume, making the tenth of a series, illustrative of the English Cathedrals, will be found to contain some novel elucidations of ecclesiastical and biographical History, with many varieties and peculiarities of Christian Architecture. Like the Cathedral of Oxford, of which an account has already been published, this of Peterborough is of modern date, as attached to a bishop's See, but of remote origin as a conventual foundation: and hence its history embraces much matter relating to monastic customs and annals, and to the contentions and warfare in which its inmates were frequently involved. The peculiar geographical situation, and nature of the country in which Medeshamsted (the old name of Peterborough) was seated, give it a marked and distinctive character. Fens, meres, and forests were originally its chief, almost its only property, and these are not calculated to render a home either pleasant or healthful. It is a common remark, that the monks "of the olden times," like the Romans, generally chose the sites of their respective establishments with a view to salubrity, beauty, and fertility: and we find that most of the Monasteries, as well as Roman stations, in England, possess these characteristics. Peterborough, Ely, Croyland, and Thorney could never have had the two former properties, however their absence may have been counterbalanced by the last. Water, fish, and fuel were doubtlessly abundant, whilst corn and cattle could be cultivated and fed on the dry and better lands. At the times when these Abbeys were respectively founded, Christianity was not universally adopted in the island; and its disciples were exposed to opposition and danger. Hence places were

chosen which might either escape notice, or be difficult of approach to marauding and piratical enemies. However difficult of access, however obscure, and however guarded, we find that these Abbeys were repeatedly plundered and burnt by the ruthless and savage Danes. The history of all these houses furnishes appalling details of the devastations committed by the northern plunderers.

Like a hive of bees that lose both honey and comb, and most of them their lives, by the pitiless robber, but the survivors of whom assemble and immediately proceed to construct new cells, and collect fresh provender,—so the monks, after being repeatedly plundered and dispersed, reunite at their old homes, and rebuild and replenish their houses. Like the bees also, the monks elect their own monarch, or governor, they congregate around him, and cordially and unanimously unite for mutual protection, as well as for the general support and benefit of the whole corporate body.

Although much care and exertion have been used in writing the present volume, the critical antiquary and historian will doubtless detect some errors and omissions. It should be borne in mind, that the "Cathedral Antiquities" never professed to enter into minute historical and ecclesiastical particulars: it was originally intended to glean and concentrate the more prominent facts relating to antient architecture and the arts, to biography and to popular history; and these will still continue to engage the author's attention. To produce a work like Bentham's History of Ely Cathedral requires long continued residence in a place—free and unreserved access to all local and general records—much leisure to devote to the subject, as well as zeal and love for such pursuits. Another very essential requisite is either an independent income, or a valuable Stall which demands from the possessor but little time or exertion. In either case a man might steadily and earnestly prosecute such a work, with honour to himself and benefit to the public; and when we review the Cathedral establishments of this country, and find that there are many of its members thus circumstanced, we feel surprise and regret that so little has been done in this interesting department of literature.

The Annals of our Cathedrals furnish only one Bishop Kennett, one Bishop Tanner, and one Prebendary Bentham[1]. These are literary planets in the ecclesiastical hemisphere, whose usefulness and splendour will continue to benefit and enlighten all antiquaries who may wish to profit by their labours, or imitate their exemplary conduct. Bishop Lyttleton was president of the Society of Antiquaries, and manifested a love for archæological studies and writings; as he clearly proves by the Essays in the Archæologia, and by his Account of Exeter Cathedral.—Although Bishops Godwin, Tanner, and Nicholson do not come precisely under the head of antiquaries, or historians of the church, their various and useful works are essentially connected with the subject, and will always prove interesting and valuable sources of information to all persons who have occasion to refer to them. The first in his "*Catalogue of Bishops*," and "*De Presulibus Angliæ;*" the second, in "*Notitia Monastica;*" and the third, in his "*English, Scotch, and Irish Historical Libraries*," have severally and collectively accumulated, and laid before the public a vast mass of authentic and important literary materials.

A very pleasing part of the author's prefatorial duty remains to be dis-

[1] The Rev. George Millers of Ely, possessing a similarity of spirit and feeling with Mr. Bentham, having new sources of information and better taste, has produced a valuable and interesting original Essay on the same Cathedral, which work, like the prebendary's, has been embellished at the expense of members belonging to that See. It is a singular circumstance, that the Church of Ely should thus be twice illustrated, and be occupied by a succession of such generous and enlightened members; whilst scarcely any other Cathedral has had its local historian, or been graphically embellished at the expense of its officers. A new edition of Mr. Bentham's History, with many valuable additions, has been produced by the late Mr. *Stevenson*, of Norwich, whose work, like those just mentioned, is enriched by several prints, the engravings of which were presented to the author. Peterborough has had its Gunton and Patrick,—but here the list terminates of Cathedral Historians, who belonged to the respective establishments. The hopes and prospect of promotion seem inimical to local improvements, and operate to the disadvantage of churches, palaces, and deaneries. A tenant-at-will rarely improves his premises, or lands, whereas the inheritor of a freehold feels a pleasure and an interest in augmenting the permanent utilities and beauties of his hereditary possessions. Although the members of a Cathedral are generally obliged to pay for dilapidations and waste, they are rarely remunerated for the improvements they may make in their respective residences. Hence arise the progressive neglect and decay of many fine and interesting houses attached to these churches.

charged: to tender acknowledgments and thanks to the officers connected with this Cathedral; and he cannot reflect on the associations and treatment he experienced at Peterborough without feelings of pleasure and grateful emotion. Here every individual, from the learned prelate to the verger, was kind and courteous; eager to render assistance—to lend every aid in promoting inquiry, to lay open every avenue to information, and thus manifesting dispositions and conduct which not only demand the grateful acknowledgments of the author, but entitle them to the approbation of the reader, and of the public.

To the Bishop, the Dean, and those of the Prebendaries, whom the author had the good fortune to meet at Peterborough, he is particularly thankful. To the Dean, in particular, he is under peculiar obligations; for zealous as that learned gentleman is in preserving and improving the noble Church entrusted to his care, and in adorning it with new screens and fittings up suitable to its dignity and character, he is also equally anxious to see the history and illustrations of the fabric, faithful, judicious, and tasteful. Towards effecting this he very kindly laid before the author such manuscript collections as were made by Bishop Kennett, and also furnished many useful hints and corrections in the ensuing letter-press. Had it been convenient to have submitted the whole of the manuscript to his discriminating judgment, the result would have been highly beneficial to the work, as well as gratifying to the author.

History and Antiquities

OF

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

Chap. I.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS:—UNCERTAIN ORIGIN OF THIS MONASTERY:—HISTORICAL NOTICES RESPECTING ITS FOUNDATION AND PROGRESS DURING THE SAXON ERA:—ITS DESTRUCTION BY THE DANES:—REBUILT IN THE TIME OF KING EDGAR:—FURTHER PARTICULARS CONCERNING IT DURING THE ANGLO-NORMAN AND SUCCEEDING DYNASTIES, UNTIL ITS DISSOLUTION AS AN ABBEY BY HENRY THE EIGHTH.

The origin, foundation, and early history of the monastic establishment of Peterborough, formerly called *Medeshamstede*[1], like all other religious houses of the early Anglo Saxon times, cannot be ascertained with certainty. Any attempt to reconcile or harmonize the fabulous and contradictory legends of those remote ages would lead us into a wide field of conjecture, without guide or direction, and prove in the end a fruitless

[1] The etymology of this compound word seems easy and rational. We need not resort to the fables of monkish writers, who prefer the marvellous to the probable. *Mede* or Mead, meadow—i. e. watered land:—*Ham*, a sheltered habitation; and *Sted*, *Stead*, or *Stad*—a bank, station, or place of rest. The Rev. Dr. Ingram's Saxon Chronicle, p. 428. Dean Patrick says, "I see no reason to think that Medeshamsted had its name from the *Medeswell*, there being no such deep pit in the river." "History of the Church of Peterburgh," Supplement, p. 226.

and unprofitable task. It will be more useful and satisfactory, in the present brief historical Essay, to confine our views and researches to the most approved records and to genuine history, so that our deductions and inferences may rest on a solid foundation, and not be drawn from improbable theory, or questionable data.

The Annals of this Monastery, like those of Ely, Croyland, Thorney, &c. in similar fenny and flat districts, involve in their respective histories much that belong to the public memorials of the country. In order to elucidate the history of an antient edifice, it will be expedient to investigate and develope the political and civil customs, institutions, and transactions of the people under whom it had its origin, and by whom it was advanced to maturity and importance. We must therefore endeavour to shew briefly, but clearly, who were the founders of the great monastic establishment on this spot, and also detail a few occurrences of its eventful history.

On the final abandonment of Britain by the Romans, successive hordes of adventurers from Saxony landed on its shores, and after various conflicts with the romanised Britons, succeeded in gaining possession of the most valuable parts of the island, which they divided into several independent kingdoms, or states, usually denominated the Saxon Heptarchy[2].

Peada, the eldest son of Penda, fourth king of Mercia, the most powerful of those kingdoms[3], it is generally admitted, laid the foundation of a monastic edifice in 655[4], at Medhamsted[5]. It has been asserted, that

[2] Though most of our annalists have used this appellation, in which they have been copied by modern historians, it is not critically correct, since, during the contests for power which took place amongst the Anglo-Saxon states, the number of petty kingdoms often fluctuated with the fortunes of war.

[3] *Mercia*, the seventh and last of the kingdoms established in Britain by the Saxon invaders, was more extensive than any of the others; being bounded on the west by the river Dee, and the Severn;—on the east by the sea, the East Angles, and the East Saxons;—on the south by the Thames;—and on the north by the Humber and the Mersey. It was originally divided into East, Middle, and West Mercia; and according to Bede there was afterwards South Mercia, which consisted of five thousand families, and North Mercia containing seven thousand families. Eccles. His. b. iii. chap. xxiv.

[4] Gunton's "Hist. of the Church of Peterburgh," p. 2.

[5] In a MS. commonly ascribed to Roberti de *Swapham*, and puplished in Sparkes's "Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Varii." 1724, the Monastery is stated to be "built on an excellent spot,

preparations were made for its erection in 650[6], previously to the death of his father[7]; but this seems by no means probable, as Penda himself never became a convert to the doctrines of Christ. On the contrary, he was almost continually engaged in warfare with the neighbouring Christian princes, and has been characterized by most monkish annalists as a sanguinary enemy of their religion. Bede however affirms, that Penda did not "obstruct the preaching of the word among his people, i. e. the Mercians, if any were willing to hear it; but on the contrary, he hated and despised those whom he perceived not to perform the works of faith, saying they were contemptible and wretched who did not obey their God, in whom they believed[8]."

In 653 Peada visited the court of Oswy, the Christian king of Northumberland, where he became a suitor for the hand of the Princess Alfleda.

surrounded on one hand with a fen and the finest water, and on the other with woods, meads, and many pastures, every way beautiful, and accessible by land, except on the east (south) side. The river Nen flows by the south side of Burgh. In the middle of this river is a place so deep, that in summer time no swimmer can get to the bottom of it; nor is it even frozen over in winter: for there is a spring whence the water bubbles up. The antients called this place Medeswell." The foundation of the new Monastery, by Wulfere, says the same authority, "was laid with such prodigious stones, that eight yoke of oxen could scarce draw one, which I saw when the Monastery was destroyed." There are some variations in the Saxon Chronicle, which may be here subjoined, from the translation of the Rev. Dr. Ingram, p. 40.

A. D. 655.—"From the beginning of the world had now elapsed 5850 winters, when Peada, the son of Penda, assumed the government of the Mercians. In his time came together himself and Oswy, brother of King Oswald, and said they would rear a *Minster* (mynster) to the glory of Christ, and the honor of St. Peter. And they did so, and gave it the name of Medhamsted; because there is a well there, called Meadswell. And they began the ground wall, and wrought thereon; after which they committed the work to a monk, whose name was Saxulf. Peada reigned no while; for he was betrayed by his own Queen, in Easter tide" (656). Matthew of Westminster says 657.

[6] Leland, "Collectanea," 1—91, says it was begun in 546, and finished in 633. Camden repeats the latter date. It must however be observed, that the first was before Peada's birth, and the latter before he was converted to Christianity.

[7] Gunton does not mention this circumstance, and as he was a Prebendary of Peterborough Cathedral, and had access to the Archives of the establishment, we must deem his *History* the best source for information on this and many other subjects.

[8] Bede's Eccles. Hist. book iii. chap. xxi. edition 1723.

Oswy declaring that his consent depended on Peada's renouncing idolatry; this condition was complied with, and the prince, after being baptized by Finanus, a Scottish bishop, was united with Alfleda. Soon after this union he returned to his own province, accompanied by the princess, and also by four priests, who were to be employed in converting his subjects to the Christian faith.

Two years had scarcely elapsed after this occurrence when Penda was defeated in battle, and put to death by Oswy. It is sufficiently evident that Peada must have maintained neutrality in this affair, since he was immediately afterwards appointed by his father-in-law as deputy to rule the South Mercians: and almost the first act of his reign was laying the foundation of the Abbey at Medhamsted, as already stated.

The royal founder lived not however to finish his pious undertaking, being murdered by his wife in the fourth year of his reign, as related by the Peterburgh historians; but no satisfactory account is given of this transaction [9].

From this period the Northumbrian king, Oswy, ruled for three years over the Mercian dominions, when the nobles, indignant at his tyrannical sway, threw off the yoke, expelled his forces from their country, and placed *Wulfere*, the younger son of Penda, on the throne [10].

The Saxon Chronicler is more circumstantial than usual in his account of this monastery. "In Wulfere's time Medhamsted waxed very rich. He loved it much for the love of his brother Peada, and for the love of his wedbrother Oswy, and for the love of Saxulf the abbot. He said, therefore, that he would dignify and honour it by the counsel of his brothers, Ethelred and Merwal; and by the counsel of his sisters, Kyneburga and Kyneswitha; and by the counsel of the archbishop, who was called Deus-dedit; and by the counsel of all his peers, learned and lewd, that in his kingdom were. And he so did. Then sent the king after the abbot, that he should immediately come to him. And he so did. Then said the king to the abbot:—

[9] Speaking of this unnatural act, Gunton merely observes, that Alfleda, "forgetting the glorious memory of her Christian ancestors, betrayed him to death at the Paschal Feast."—Hist. of Peterburgh, p. 2.

[10] The Saxon Chronicle states that Wulfere succeeded Peada immediately on his death.

'Beloved Saxulf, I have sent after thee for the good of my soul; and I will plainly tell thee for why. My brother Peada, and my beloved friend Oswy, began a *Minster*, for the love of Christ and St. Peter: but my brother, as Christ willed, is departed from this life; I will therefore intreat thee, beloved friend, that they earnestly proceed on their work; and I will find thee thereto gold and silver, land and possessions, and all that thereto behoveth.' Then went the abbot home, and began to work. So he sped as Christ permitted him; so that in a few years was that minster ready. Then when the king heard say that, he was very glad; and bade men send through all the nation, after all his thanes; after the archbishop, and after bishops, and after his earls; and after all those that loved God, that they should come to him. And he fixed the day when men should hallow the minster. And when they were hallowing the minster, there was the king, Wulfere, and his brother, Ethelred, and his sisters, Kyneburga and Kyneswitha. And the minster was hallowed by archbishop Deus-dedit, of Canterbury; and the bishop of Rochester, Ithamar; and the bishop of London, who was called Wina; and the bishop of the Mercians, whose name was Jeruman; and bishop Tuda. And there was Wilfrid, priest, that after was bishop; and there were all his Thanes that were in his kingdom. When the minster was hallowed in the name of *St. Peter, and St. Paul, and St. Andrew.*" The king then gave various lands and waters, and other property, and said, "It is little this gift; but I will that they hold it so royally and so freely, that there be taken therefrom neither gild nor gable, but for the monks alone. Thus I will free this Minster, that it be not subject, except to Rome alone; and hither I will that we seek St. Peter, all that to Rome cannot go."

The grant then details other privileges, and the king addressing the abbot says, 'Beloved Saxulf, not that only which thou desirest, but all things that I know thou desirest in our Lord's behalf, so I approve and grant. And I bid thee, brother Ethelred, and my sisters, Kyneburga and Kyneswitha, for the release of your souls, that you be witnesses, and that you subscribe it with your fingers. And I pray all that come after me, be they my sons, be they my brethren, or kings that come after me, that

our gift may stand; as they would be partakers of the life everlasting, and as they would avoid everlasting punishment. Whoso lesseneth our gift, or the gift of other good men, may the heavenly porter lessen him in the kingdom of heaven; and whoso advanceth it, may the heavenly porter advance him in the kingdom of heaven.' This solemn grant is subscribed by the king himself; and by the whole assembly of bishops, nobles, and priests, as witnesses,—the 7th year of King Wulfere, A. D. 664[11]. It was then sent to Rome for the ratification of Pope Vitalianus, who returned it, confirming all that was desired, and, according to the phraseology of the times, forbidding any king or any man to have ingress to the Monastery, but the abbot alone; "nor shall he be subject to any man, except the Pope of Rome and the Archbishop of Canterbury. If any one breaketh any thing of this, St. Peter with his sword destroy him; whosoever holdeth it, St. Peter with heaven's key undo him the kingdom of heaven."

Though on this and many other occasions Wulfere evinced himself to be a sincere friend to Christianity, he has been stigmatised, in some monkish legends, written several centuries after his death, as the murderer of his two sons, and an apostate from the faith of Christ. But this story, as well as his subsequent penitence and re-conversion by St. Chad, rest solely on the authority of Walter de Whittlesea, a monk and historian of Peterborough, and would be wholly unworthy of notice had not Gunton related that these events in the life of Wulfere formed the subjects of painted glass in the windows of the western cloisters.

Wulfere dying in 675, was succeeded by his brother, *Ethelred*, who appears to have been even a more munificent benefactor to this Monastery than any of his brothers. He not only built an abbatial house, and endowed the Abbey with numerous lordships, but sent Wilfrid, archbishop of York,

[11] "By this charter it may appear that the bounds of the Monastery of Medeshamsted, from east to west, were twenty miles, and that Thorney and Whittlesey, with their appurtenances, were within the limits thereof; but Saxulf intending to build Thorney, and authorized thereto by King Wulfere, abated so much from his Monastery of Medeshamsted, and so made Thorney an entire Abbey of itself." Hist. of the Chur. of Peter. App. p. 122.

to Rome, to procure from Pope Agatho additional and very extraordinary privileges, with confirmation of all the former powers and prerogatives [12].

Ethelred, after reigning thirty years, exchanged his crown and sceptre for a cowl, became first a monk, and afterwards abbot of Bardney in Lincolnshire, where he died in 716.

Under the year 775 the Saxon Chronicle [13] relates, that in the days of King Offa "there was an abbot at Medhamsted called Beonner, who, with consent of all the monks, let to farm to Alderman Cuthbert, ten copyhold lands at Swineshead, with leasow and with meadow, with all the appurtenances,"—for which he was to pay fifty pounds, and furnish entertainment for one night, or pay 30 *s.*

Of Abbot *Hedda*, whose name appears to three royal charters granted to Croyland Abbey, there are few particulars recorded; but it appears that the Danes infested and ravaged this part of the country during his abbacy.

These savage invaders, led on by Hubba, after laying waste the neighbouring Monastery of Croyland, hurried towards Medhamsted with the same barbarous design. Finding the gates of the Monastery closed, and the inmates prepared for defence, they proceeded to batter the walls, by means of the warlike engines then in use. During this assault, Tulba, the brother of Earl Hubba, was mortally wounded by a stone thrown from the walls, which so enraged the Danish leader, that, forcing an entrance into the Monastery, he slew all the monks with his own hand, not even sparing their venerable superior.

The sacred edifice was then given up to the mercy of these lawless and brutal pirates, who, after plundering it of every thing valuable, set fire to the buildings, which are related to have continued burning for fifteen days. The

[12] The Abbey was, in fact, by these privileges raised to the dignity of a vice-papal See: for not only was its abbot rendered superior to all others north of the Thames, and allowed to take precedence in all conventions and ecclesiastical assemblies; "but if any Briton, or any person of the neighbouring islands, had a desire to visit Rome, and could not by reason of its distance, they might repair to St. Peter's in this Monastery, there offer up their vows, be absolved from their sins, and receive the apostolical benediction." Appendix to Gunton, p. 123.

[13] Edition by Ingram, p. 75.

library, the archives of the Abbey, its charters, and other important writings, were either wantonly torn and destroyed, or else committed to the flames. It appears, however, that these savage plunderers reaped little advantage from this sacrilegious exploit, as the waggons filled with the valuable spoils of the Abbey were lost either in the river Nen, or in the neighbouring marshes.

Tranquillity being restored by the departure of the invaders, a small number of the brotherhood of Croyland, who had escaped the general carnage, again sought shelter beneath the dilapidated walls of their Abbey, and elected Godric their abbot. After settling the affairs of his own little community, he repaired to Medhamsted, and having collected the mangled remains of the murdered monks, to the number of eighty-four, interred them in one large grave, over which he raised a stone, sculptured with the effigies of some of the ecclesiastics [14].

A. D. 852. About this time the Saxon Chronicle relates that Abbot *Ceolred* "let to hand the land of Sempringham to Wulfred," who was to send each year to the Monastery "60 loads of wood, 12 loads of coal, 6 loads of peat, 2 tuns full of fine ale, 2 neats' carcases, 600 loaves, and 10 kilderkins of Welsh ale; one horse also each year, and 30 shillings, and one night's entertainment." p. 93.

During the remaining years of his life, Godric paid an annual visit to this mausoleum of his murdered brethren, pitching a tent over the stone, and saying mass two several days for the souls of those interred beneath.

The rights and privileges of the Monastery of Medhamsted were soon again invaded by Beorred, king of the Mercians, who seizing all the lands belonging to it between Stamford, Huntington, and Wisbech, divided them amongst his soldiers. He soon afterwards fled to Rome, where he died in 874. The Danes, again obtaining ascendancy, placed Ceolwolph on the throne of Mercia, who exacted ruinous tribute from his subjects, and fleeced the Abbeys of Croyland and Medhamsted [15].

[14] This monument is supposed to be still preserved, and will be noticed in a subsequent page.

[15] Ingulphus, ed. Gale et Fell. "Rerum Anglicarum," l. i. p. 25.

In 872, the year following the destruction of this Monastery, Alfred the Great ascended the throne of England, and by the energy and wisdom of his measures, so effectually curbed the power of the Danes within his realm, that for several years his subjects enjoyed a comparative degree of tranquillity. This interval of repose was employed by Alfred in building a fleet sufficiently powerful to secure his kingdom from future invasion, a policy wisely pursued by his successor, Edgar, so that no hostile ship from Denmark, for nearly a quarter of a century ventured to approach the English coast. Encouraged by this state of security from foreign invasion, some persons of rank and opulence turned their attention to the re-establishment of the religious edifices, which had fallen a prey to the barbarity of the Danish pirates, and amongst others to that of Medhamsted.

The precise period at which the rebuilding of this Monastery commenced has not been satisfactorily ascertained; but as it was destroyed in 870, and, according to Gunton, "lay buried in its ruins for the space of ninety-six years[16]," it must have been begun about 966[17]. Its restoration appears to have been brought about chiefly through the zeal and influence of *Athelwold*, Bishop of Winchester, who, having visited it at this time, prevailed on King Edgar to assist in its re-erection[18].

Athelwold is described by Dean Patrick to stand in relation to King Edgar as Saxulf had been to Wulfere, a manager or steward of the royal bounty in erecting and rebuilding Monasteries. Hence he is called by Edgar, in his charter, *constructor*, i. e. builder or architect; and it is recorded as a memorable fact of the times and monarch, that the latter "built

[16] Godwin, in his "Catalogue of English Bishops," says one hundred and nine years. Others assign different dates to this event, and it is impossible to reconcile their discrepancies. See History of Peterburgh, p. 244.

[17] Ingulphus, in his account of Croyland Abbey, Savile's "*Rerum Angli. Scriptor. post Bedam*," 1601, says, "that in the year 966 Bishop Athelwold restored *(restauravit)* the ruined Monastery of Medhamstede."

[18] Gunton and Patrick: the latter enters into a long argument to prove that the laws and discipline of St. Benedict, or *Bene't*, were introduced to Burgh about this time, or at least an improved modification of laws founded on those of St. Benedict. Hist. of Peterb. p. 246.

and repaired above forty Monasteries, among which he reckons this of *Burch*, as it now began to be called[19]."

When the building of the Abbey was completed, Edgar visited it in company with Dunstan, then Archbishop of Canterbury, Oswald, Archbishop of York, and a number of the nobility and clergy, who all expressed themselves pleased with the situation and appearance of the edifice. The king being informed that some of the ancient charters of the Abbey had escaped the ravages of the Danes, expressed a desire to examine them; and finding from their evidence that he possessed a *vice-popedom*, or second Rome, in his own kingdom, he is said to have "wept for joy." In the presence of the assembly he then confirmed all the former privileges of the Monastery, and changed the name to that of *Burgh*. His majesty, as well as the nobles and clergy, bestowed on the Abbey large donations of gold, silver, relics, and grants of lands[20].

Amongst the train of courtiers who attended the king on this occasion was his chancellor, ADULPH, or *Adulphus*, who, a short time before, having accidentally caused the death of his only son, was so much affected by the misfortune, that, in conformity with the superstition of the age, he resolved to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome, as a penance for his involuntary crime. Bishop Athelwold advised him, however, rather to aid in the restoration of St. Peter's church, at Burgh; and, swayed by this counsel, he endowed the Abbey with all his wealth, laid aside his courtly robes, and assumed the habit of a monk. He was the *first abbot* of the restored Monastery, being appointed to that office in 971, or 972.

Under the direction of the new abbot, that part of the abbey lands, then termed the *Nasee*, and now known by the name of the hundred of Nassa-

[19] History of Peterb. 245, from the abbot of Rieval, "*De Genealog. Regum Angliæ*," and Brompton. William of Malmesbury, "*De Gestis Pontif. Angli.*" l. iv. says that Athelwold built so sumptuously, and endowed with such ample possessions, that almost all the country round about Burgh was subject to it. Matthew of Westminster, *ad anno* 664, characterises Burgh, as *urbs regia*, a royal city.

[20] From these valuable bequests it is said that the place obtained the name of *Gildenburgh:* Gunton, p. 10: but the Saxon Chronicle, under A. D. 1052, assigns this title to the time of Abbot Leofric, who gilded the Minster.

burgh, was cleared of wood, and let out in farms, at a stipulated annual rent. In consequence of this judicious measure the people increased in numbers; and having no churches in their respective districts, they resorted to Burgh for baptism and marriage, to receive the eucharist, and to pay their church dues; and these practices continued for many years.

In 992 this abbot, who had been advanced to the archiepiscopal chair of York, was succeeded by KENULFUS, who enclosed the Monastery with a wall[21], improved its library, and augmented its revenues. He also procured from Ethelred, the son of Edgar, a confirmation of all the different charters, formerly granted to this Abbey. He was translated to the See of Winchester in 1006. The celebrity which his eloquence and virtue gave to the Monastery continued long after his removal; "for in the reign of the Conqueror the monks of Burgh were so famous, and the world had such an high opinion of them, *ut totus mundus abiret post eos:* and many of the great men of the land, both the highest bishops, and other noble-men, and lieutenants of the counties, chose to be interred among them[22]."

He was succeeded by ELSINUS, or *Ælfius*, whose avidity for collecting relics was singular, even in that superstitious age. Gunton has preserved a list or "bederole," of them, taken from Swapham and De Whittlesey, amongst which the arm of Saint Oswald was deemed the most precious. So great indeed was said to be its power of healing the sick, that King Stephen visited Peterborough on purpose to see this wonder-working relic, on which occasion he offered his ring to Saint Oswald, and also

[21] It has been asserted on the authority of William of Malmeshury, that on this account the Abbey was called *Burgh*, but this name already occurs in the charter of Edgar of a previous date. Dean Patrick is of opinion, however, that William of Malmeshury might only mean that the place did not deserve the name of Burch till it was walled round; BURH, BURGH, and BYRIGH, signifying any place walled about, from the Saxon word DEORGAN, to defend or keep in safety. The Dean however admits that Malmesbury's words imply something more, for he saith, "the place, formerly called Medeshamstede, being now encompassed with a wall by Kenulphus, *à similitudine urbis, Burch vocatus est*, was called *Burch* from its likeness to a city." Hist. of Peterb. Sup. p. 249.

[22] History of Peterh. Sup. p. 249, from Ingulphus, *ut sup.*

remitted to the Monastery the sum of forty marks which it was indebted to him[23]. According to Ingulphus, Sweyn, the Danish King, invaded England about this time, and laid waste this Monastery, with many of the neighbouring villages and manors.

Whilst Elsinus was engaged in collecting relics in Normandy, *Hoveden* in Yorkshire, and many other lands were wrested from his Abbey[24]. After presiding here for fifty years he died in 1055[25], and was succeeded by Arwinus, of whom nothing of moment is recorded. Preferring a private and solitary life, he voluntarily relinquished the abbacy, after ruling for eight years, according to Gunton, but Dean Patrick states that he lived eight years after resigning the abbey. Abbot John places his resignation in the year 1057[26], making his presidency only two years; whilst the Saxon Chronicle says he gave up the "abbacy in full health" in 1052, in favour of Leofric[27], or *Levricus*. He redeemed certain lands belonging to the Monastery[28] from King Edward the Confessor; also enriched the church with

[23] This *Oswald*, whose supposed arm performed many miraculous feats in the monkish pantomime for several centuries, was a Christian prince of Northumberland, and distinguished for his piety and charity. Aydanus, a Scottish bishop, witnessing one of the king's charitable deeds, took him by the right hand, and exclaimed, "Let this hand never wax old or be corrupted." Oswald was afterwards defeated by Penda king of the Mercians, in 643, and by his order torn in pieces; his right arm was however preserved and conveyed to Peterborough, where it is asserted it remained uncorrupted for several centuries. Gunton, Hist. of Peterb. p. 12.

[24] Among other saintly treasures brought from Normandy was the body of St. Florentinus, which the abbot purchased of the monks of an abbey dedicated to that saint. This being deposited at Burgh, caused many of the religious devotees of the foreign house to visit England to offer vows and oblations to their patron.

[25] This seems an extraordinary period of presidency over an Abbey; but it is vouched by John, abbot of Burgh, in Sparke's History. The Saxon Chronicle places his death in 1042. Ingram's translation, p. 213. Ælfric, archbishop of York, was buried at this Abbey in 1051. Chron. de Mailros, ed. Gale et Fell, p. 157.

[26] Monast. Angl. Ed. 1817, vol. i. p. 348. Dean Patrick, from the MS. Chron. of Abbot John, says that an abbot named Kinsinus presided between Kenulfus and Elsinus. Hist. of Peterb. p. 250.

[27] He was related to the royal family, and is said to have held at once five abbeys; viz. Burton, Coventry, Croyland, Thorney, and Peterborough. Gunt. Hist. Peterb. p. 15.

[28] Fiskerton for twenty, Fletton for eight, and Burleigh for eight marks. Ibid.

various gifts of great value, and procured from the king a confirmation of all the grants of his predecessors.

It was during the third year of his abbacy, according to Gunton, that England was invaded by Duke William of Normandy; but Candidus says this event took place in the thirteenth year of his rule[29]. The abbot was then in the English army; but the state of his health obliged him soon after to return to his Monastery, where he died on the third of the kalends of November, A. D. 1066[30].

Brando, a monk of Burgh, who had been a benefactor to the Monastery, while only a brother, succeeded to the abbacy on the death of Leoforic. He gave great offence to the Conqueror by applying to Edgar for confirmation, and was at last obliged to pay a fine of forty marks of gold before either his own election or the privileges of the Monastery were secured to him. He conferred on Hereward de Wake, his nephew, the honour of military investiture, according to the religious ceremonies of the Anglo-Saxons. Brando did not long enjoy his abbatial government, and died in November, 1069[31].

Soon after the accession of the Conqueror, Thoroldus, a Norman, was placed by him in the vacant chair of Burgh Monastery. Owing to his foreign descent, and from having alienated some lands belonging to the church, he was extremely unpopular in the convent. During his government, the Monastery was once more a place of outrage and warfare: Hereward de Wake, already alluded to, joining a Danish force in the Isle of Ely, proceeded to Peterburgh, and on reaching Bolehith-gate, now commonly called Bulldyke-gate, they met with powerful resistance, and setting fire to the building, they entered the Monastery under cover of the flame and smoke. Regardless of the entreaties and prayers of the monks, the soldiers proceeded to rob the church of its most valuable treasures[32],

[29] Monasticon. Ang. ed. 1817, vol. i. p. 348, &c. [30] Saxon Chronicle, by Ingram, p. 265.

[31] Gunton, Hist. of Peterb. p. 17 and 260. Abbots were afterwards denied the privilege of making knights.

[32] They endeavoured to carry away the great *cross*, but could not: "they took the golden crown from the head of the crucifix, with the precious stones, and the footstool under its feet, made of pure gold and gems: together with *duo aurea feretra* (two golden or gilded *biers*, whereon they carried the saints' reliques, and other such like things in procession), and nine

which they conveyed to Ely. Some of the monks were detained as prisoners, one of whom contrived to secrete the sacred arm of St. Oswald, with some gold and silver. In consequence of a treaty between the Conqueror and Sweyn, the Danes retired to their homes, but carried with them many of the reliques. These were afterwards again obtained for the Monastery by the secretary, who visited Denmark on purpose to procure them. The abbot soon returned to his house, taking with him a large body of Normans, who raised a fortification near the church, called *Mount Thorold*[33]. Notwithstanding these and other precautions, he again became prisoner to De Wake, to whom he gave thirty marks of silver for his ransom[34].

The goods of the Monastery were greatly diminished by the profusion and waste of this abbot, who is accused of having admitted two foreign monks into the Abbey, who plundered it of many valuable articles. It is even said that he scrupled not himself to embezzle the property committed to his charge, which he employed to procure the bishoprick of Beauvois, in France. From this dignity he was however expelled in four days, and, returning to England, gave the king a large sum of money for permission to reseat himself in his former Monastery. Having ruled the Abbey twenty-eight years, he died in 1098, according to Candidus and the Saxon Chronicle, though others say in 1100[35].

silver oues, and twelve crosses, some of gold, some of silver. And besides all this, went up to the tower, and took away the great table, which the monks had hidden there, which was all of gold and silver and precious stones, and wont to be before the altar: with abundance of hooks and other precious things, which were invaluable, there being not the like in all England. And they pretended to do all this out of faithfulness to the church; for the Danes, they told them, would preserve those things for the use of the church, better than the Franks would do." Gunton's Hist. of Peterb. Suppl. p. 263.

[33] A conical mound of earth, called Tout-hill, forming a basement to the keep of this fortress, is now remaining on the north side of the cathedral. At the base of it was discovered, in the year 1817, a Well, with a subterraneous archway, said to lead towards the church.

[34] This sum is mentioned by Gunton; but Dean Patrick says, "that the abbot was kept in custody till he redeemed himself and other considerable persons with the sum of three thousand marks." History of Peter. Sup. p. 264.

[35] At this period the *Domesday Register* of property was compiled, in which is an enumeration of the manors belonging to this Monastery. These are again specified in the Monasticon Anglicanum, edit. 1817, vol. i. p. 386 to 390.

The monks, in consequence of the evils they had suffered under his government, gave the king three hundred marks of silver for permission to choose their own abbot, which having obtained they elected Godricus or *Bodricus*, brother to Brando, to that office. Whether the Simoniacal contract thus made was objected to is not uniformly stated, but in 1102 Godric, who had not been consecrated, was deposed, according to Simeon of Durham and the generality of writers, in the council of Westminster[36]. During the short period that he occupied the abbatical chair, only one year, some thieves from France and Flanders, entering the church through one of the windows, stole a large ornamented cross of gold, two chalices and patens of the same metal, and two golden candelabras, which had been bestowed on the church by Ælfric, archbishop of York, and formerly a monk of Burgh[37]. The offenders were taken; but the king seized the recovered treasures, and retained possession of the Monastery for four years[38].

The next abbot was Matthias, brother to Galfridus Ridel, the king's justiciary, to whom he appears to have made a conveyance of the Manor of Pithesle, or Pightsly. After possessing the abbacy only one year, the king again seized and retained it in his possession for more than three years[39].

Ernulphus, prior of Canterbury, was elected abbot in 1107. He built the "new dormitory and the refectory, and finished the chapter-house." He also made an agreement betwixt his convent and the knights who held lands of the Abbey, that "each of them should pay yearly to the sacristary two parts of his tithes, and at his death the third part of his whole estate, for his burial in the church, all his knightly endowments, as well horses as

[36] Matthew Paris, edit. 1684, p. 49, and Matthew of Westminster, edit. Francof. 1601, p. 236, say, the council, in which Godric was deposed, was held at St. Paul's. Eadmer however joins Simeon of Durham in placing it at Westminster, and expressly asserts that the removal of Godric was for simony. Bishop Godwin, who calls him Geoffrey, says that his deposition from the Abbey was for not being in holy orders. See Monast. Angl. *ut sup.*

[37] According to Dean Kipling, this prelate was buried near the steps of approach to the high altar. Epitome of the Hist. of Peterb. p. 12.

[38] Gunt. Hist. of Peterb. p. 19.

[39] Monast. Angl. vol. i. p. 350.

arms, being to be brought with his body, and offered up to Saint Peter; the convent were to receive the corpse with procession, and to perform the office for the dead[40]." Such exactions tend to account for the accumulation of property, which the Monastery progressively acquired[41]. In 1114 Ernulphus was promoted to the bishoprick of Rochester, when he appears to have procured a confirmation of the lands and liberties of Peterborough[42].

In the same year he was succeeded by JOHN DE SAIS, incorrectly termed by Gunton, *John of Salisbury*, who had been abbot of Sais or Séez in Normandy. Soon after his election he was sent to Rome, by Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, to bring the pall from Pope Paschal. He returned in 1116, and soon afterwards a fire occurred in the Monastery which nearly consumed the whole edifice. According to Gunton, "the chapter-house, dormitory, and the new refectory escaped the flames, which took hold of the village and wholly consumed it[43]." This calamity is said by Candidus, already quoted, to have been a divine punishment on the blasphemy of the abbot, who in a passion "fell a cursing," and one of his servants in the bakehouse, following the example, "cursed" also, and said, 'come devil and blow the fire.'"

On the eighth of the ides of March, A.D. 1117, John of Sais laid *the foundation of a* NEW *church*, which is generally supposed to be the origin of the present Cathedral; but he did not live to witness its completion. He also recovered for the Monastery the Manor of Pightesly, which had been alienated by Abbot Matthias, and gave to King Henry I. sixty marks for the confirmation of it. Having governed the Abbey eleven years, he died on the 2d of the ides of October, 1125.

[40] Gunt. Hist. of Peterb. p. 10.

[41] Madox, in his "Baron. Anglicanum," cap. v. p. 91, states that this Abbey possessed sixty fees, or the service of sixty knights. Each of these fees consisted of 680 acres of land, i. e. 40,800 acres. The Norman Conqueror required military service from bishops, abbots, friars, and also from the clergy who held lands of the crown.

[42] Monast. Ang. vol. i. p. 350.

[43] The Saxon Chronicle states that the whole Monastery, excepting the chapter-house and dormitory, fell a sacrifice to the fire; but Candidus and Gunton agree in stating that the newly built refectory was preserved. Monast. Angl. vol. i. p. 350.

Henri de Angeli, or *Anjou*, was appointed to the vacant abbacy, in 1128. He was bishop of Soissons, and afterwards a monk and prior of Cluni; and then prior of Savenni. Being related to King Henry II. and also to the Count of Aquitain, the latter bestowed on him the Abbey of St. John Angeli, whence he received his name. He afterwards obtained the archbishoprick of Besançun, which he is said to have retained only three days, and the bishoprick of Saintes, which he kept but seven.

On being appointed collector of the Peter-pence in England, the king bestowed on him the abbotship of Burgh, though he still held that of Angeli. He calumniated the community of his house to the king, in order to procure its annexation to Cluni; but failing in the attempt, he was forced to surrender this Abbey and quit the kingdom [44].

Martin de Vecti, or *de Bec*, as he is sometimes called, was appointed abbot by the king in 1133 [45]. He was not only assiduous in forwarding the new church, but also in repairing the other parts of the Monastery, which had suffered by the fire. The building being far advanced, the relics were removed, and the monks were introduced into the church, which was re-dedicated to St. Peter, with great pomp and ceremony, in the presence of the bishop of Lincoln, the abbots of Croyland, Thorney, and Ramsey, and a numerous assemblage of barons, knights, and clergy [46]. This abbot built one of the gates to the Monastery, but which, says Gunton, "I cannot say," and changed the situation of the village to the western side of the Abbey. He likewise altered the wharfage, and removed the church of St. John Baptist to the close. He pulled down a castle near the Abbey Church,

[44] Monast. Angl. vol. i. p. 351. See also the Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 1131.

[45] Gunton says that some writers call him Martin Cook. He was originally prior of St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, and was received with great pomp into the minster by the monks on St. Peter's mass-day, A. D. 1133. Saxon Chron. p. 364. Dugdale, Mon. Ang. vol. i. p. 351.

[46] This ceremony, according to the Saxon Chronicle, and to Hugo Candidus, took place on the feast of St. Peter, A. D. 1140; but according to more approved authorities in 1143. Mon. Angl. vol. i. p. 351. Antient Register of Peterb. Mon. MS. in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, of London: and Patrick's Suppl. to Gunton, p. 277.

supposed by Gunton to have been *Mount Thorold,* planted a vineyard, added many buildings to his own dwelling[47], and recovered some lordships which had been alienated by his predecessors. He took a journey to Rome, with the view of obtaining a confirmation of King Etheldred's charter from Pope Eugenius III.; but a debate arising in the consistory respecting the form of the charter, one of the cardinals entreated his Holiness, "not to give the honour of his name to another;" and in consequence of this suggestion a *new charter* was granted to De Bec, dated in 1146, in the name of *Eugenius,* while that of *King Etheldred,* the *founder* and *benefactor* of the Monastery, was left out, after standing for nearly five hundred years[48]. His death took place on the 4th of the nones of January, 1155, after he had governed the Monastery nearly twenty-two years[49].

The abbacy of De Vecti was remarkable for the numerous improvements made to the church, in the monastery, and in the town; it was also a period noted for the disorganized and distracted state of the country. Social order seemed dissolved throughout the land; violence, robbery, and murder had

[47] When Abbot Martin is thus said to have increased the buildings, and restored the town to a better condition, it is plainly meant, according to Bishop Kennet, that "he changed the passage over the river, and built a bridge a little more up the river, westward, where it now continues, which bridge, from the founder, was called *Pons Martini,* and the street leading from it was called Brigg Street, which name it still retains. And by this change of passage, the town, which before lay eastward of the Abbey, with the common road through Bungate, was by degrees altered to the west side, by means of the new bridge and direct passage through Brigg Street, &c. Yet Mr. Gunton and Dr. Patrick did not describe this alteration. The first only hints that Abbat Martin changed the place of wharfage for boats, to that place which is now commonly used; when that change of wharfage was owing purely to the change of passing the river by the new bridge: and Dr. Patrick goes a little farther from the true occasion of this change, by imagining the new bridge was built by Martin the second, above a hundred and twenty years after this time." Dugdale, Mon. Angli. vol. i. p. 351, from the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum. See Catalogue, 8vo. No. 1083, 263.

[48] Dean Patrick, who has engraven the leaden seal appended to this charter, says, the original grant, signed by Pope Eugenius himself, and attested by the cardinal of St. George, was found about thirteen years ago (1673), by some workmen employed in repairing the roof of Peterborough Minster. Hist. of Peterb. Supp. p. 280.

[49] Gunton, Hist. of Peterb. p. 23; and Suppl. p. 282. The Monasticon, vol. i. p. 352, contains many particulars of this Abbot's times.

arisen to such a height, that neither "church nor churchyard was spared, nor was a bishop's land, or an abbot's, or a priest's, but monks and clerks were both plundered; and every man robbed another who could. If two men or three came riding to a town, all the township fled for them, concluding them to be robbers. The bishops and learned men cursed them continually; but the effect thereof was nothing to them, for they were all accursed and foresworn, and abandoned. To till the ground was to plough the sea: the earth bare no corn, for the land was all laid waste by such deeds; and they said openly, that Christ slept, and his saints. Such things, and more than we can say, suffered we nineteen winters for our sins. In all this time Abbot Martin found the monks and the guests in every thing that behoved them, and held much charity in the house. He was a good man; and for this reason God and good men loved him[50]."

Fearing to have a stranger placed over them, the monks met on the day of De Vecti's death, and unanimously chose WILLIAM DE WATERVILLE, or *Vaudeville*, chaplain or clerk to Henry II., to succeed their late abbot. The following day, Reinaldus, the prior, and Hugo Spiritus proceeded with the abbot elect to Oxford, where the monarch held a court, who readily confirmed their choice by his charter. Having performed his homage to the king, the new abbot returned to Burgh, and was installed with great ceremony on the Sunday termed Sexagesima, A. D. 1155.

Besides discharging all the debts of his predecessor, he purchased ample provisions for his Monastery. He also regained the fee and service of De la Mere for one hundred marks, and gave one hundred more for the confirmation of nine knight's fees: according to Hugh Candidus, he likewise bought and secured to the Abbey many lands, rents, and pensions, all of which are enumerated by that chronicler. The same historian, who is followed by other old writers, ascribes numerous acts of liberality, and even munificence, to this abbot. He is said to have founded St. Michael's Nunnery at Stamford, built St. Martin's church, in the same town; founded the hospital of St. Leonard, now called Spittal, near Peterburgh; laid the foundation of

[50] Ingram's Saxon Chronicle, p. 367.

Thomas à Becket's chapel[51], covered the cloister with lead, "built the transept, or two cross ailes, *ambæ crucis ecclesiæ*, and three stories of the great tower of the church, a chapel in his own house, and other offices; he likewise bestowed numerous ornaments and vestments on the church[52]." Though this abbot appears to have been active, generous, and devoted to the prosperity of his abbey, he was deposed by the monks, and much intrigue and interest appears to have been made with the pope and the monarch to confirm his expulsion and degradation. To carry on his works he is said to have borrowed much money, from which debts the monks were afterwards absolved by a bull of Pope Urban[53]. The Abbey was retained by the king for two years, when BENEDICT, prior of Canterbury, was made abbot in 1177, who, from affection to the lately murdered Thomas à Becket, is said to have carried to Peterburgh the martyr's shirt, surplice, some of his blood, and some of the stones on which he fell. These were important relics, and calculated to attract superstitious visitors, and consequent oblations to the Monastery. He proceeded to finish the Chapel of *Thomas à Becket*, which had been commenced by his predecessor; raised the great gateway, and founded a chapel to St. Nicholas near it[54]. He also built "a large and goodly house of stone for several offices." The nave of the church, "from the lantern to the porch, as it now is," according to Gunton (p. 26), was likewise built by him. The same fact is also stated in Dugdale's Monasticon, and both evidently derived from Swapham[55]. In a subsequent

[51] Gunton considers this to he the chapel and porch under the centre arch of the western front. Dean Kipling says it adjoined the western gate, hetween the close and the town, "*ad portam* Monasterii;" and that the present school-house is the chancel of the chapel. See Epitome of the History, &c. p. 16, and Bridges's History of Northamptonshire, 11, 543.

[52] Dugdale's Mon. Angl. vol. i. p. 353.

[53] During this abbot's government Henry II. visited Peterhurgh, where "he was received with great worship," and "where he remained with the abbot for some time." Saxon Chron. p. 374.

[54] Ipse quoque erexit magnam portam exteriorem, et desuper capellam sancti Nicholai."—Swapham.

[55] His words are, "Ædificavit *totam navem* ecclesiæ opere lapideo et ligneo a *turre chori* usque ad frontem, et pulpitum similiter edificavit." In the MS. Chron. of John, abbot of

H. Ansted delt J. Le Keux sc

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

TWO COMPARTMENTS, WEST END OF NAVE.

London Published Oct. 1. 1826. by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row.

Hayward

Drawn by W. Bartlett. Engraved by J. Le Keux.

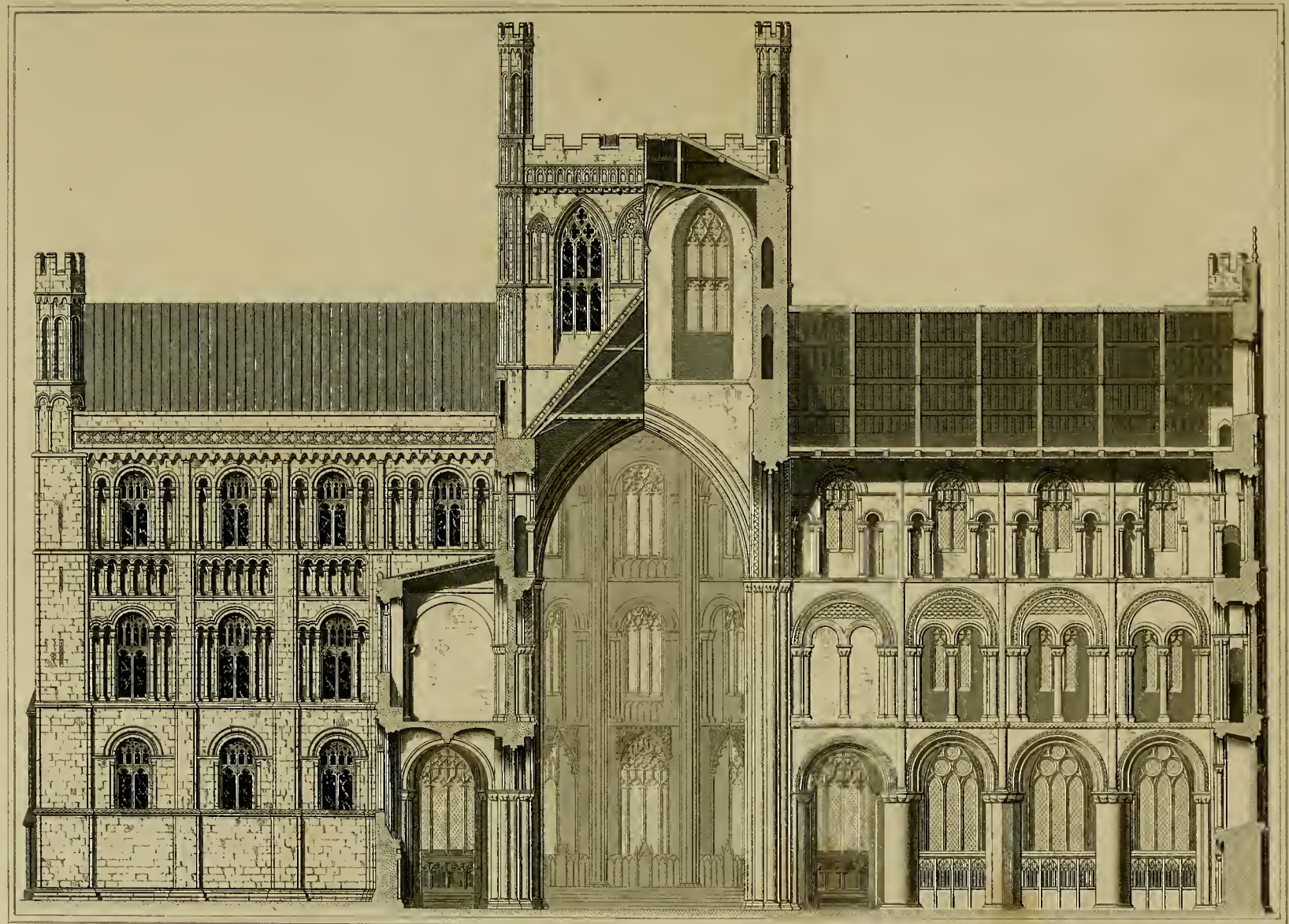
PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

VIEW ACROSS S. TRANSEPT, LOOKING S.E.

To the Venerable H.K. BONNEY, D.D. Archdeacon of Bedford, Author of the History of Fotheringay, &c. this plate is inscribed by
J. BRITTON.

London, Published June 1, 1827, by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row

Printed by Hayward



Drawn by H. Ansted, from Measurements & Sketches by R. Cattermole.

Engraved by J. Le Keux.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

HALF SECTION, HALF ELEVATION OF TRANSEPT. N. TO S. LOOKING EAST.

To A. SALVIN, ESQ. *ARCHITECT*; this plate is inscribed with sentiments of esteem by the AUTHOR.

Printed by Hayward

London, Published Feb.y 1, 1827, by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row

Drawn by W. Bartlett. Engraved by W. Wallis.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

SOUTH AISLE OF CHOIR &c. FROM THE EAST.

To the REV.d JOHN PARSONS, M.A. Prebendary of the Cathedral, this plate is inscribed by the AUTHOR.

Printed by Barnett & Son

London, Published Feb.1 1827, by Longman & C.o Paternoster Row.

R. Cattermole del. W. Woolnoth sc.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

INTERIOR VIEW OF THE EAST END, LOOKING S.

To the REV.d THO.s SMART HUGHES B.D. Prebendary of Peterborough,— Author of Travels in Greece &c. this plate is inscribed by J. BRITTON

Printed by Baynard

London, Published Aug.t 1.1827, by Longman & Co.s Paternoster Row

description, &c. of the church I shall have occasion to offer a few remarks on these statements. Benedict is represented as "a man of considerable reputation for literature[56]," and an intimate friend of the once arbitrary Becket. He is also said to have liberated the Monastery from debts, amounting to one thousand five hundred marks. He was made keeper of the great seal, in 1191, under Richard I., and received other favours from that monarch, in return for which he was urgent in recommending the sale of church plate, to ransom the king when he was imprisoned by the Archduke Leopold. He did not however live to see his patron return, as his death occurred on Michaelmas-day, 1193, and the king came to England in the following year.

Andreas, who was first a monk and then a prior of this Abbey, was advanced to the abbacy in 1194. He gave the manors of Alwalton and Fletton for the augmentation of the commons, and also conferred other advantages on his house. Dying in 1199, he was buried in the south aile of the church, where, according to Gunton, an epitaph was lately remaining "in Saxon letters."

The archbishop of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, having been appointed to the custody of the Abbey, after the decease of Andreas, having plundered and wasted its property, left it in a state of desolation to Acharius, or *Zacharius*, or *Akary*, a prior of St. Allans, who was presented to this abbacy by King John in 1200. After providing his house with necessaries, and even luxuries, he purchased for two hundred and fifty marks some houses near St. Paul's Church, London; and gave two hundred marks to King John for a charter of liberties. He caused several halls, chambers, and other edifices to be built on his manors of "Scotere, Fiskertone, Gosberchirch, Tynewell, Irtlingburch, and Stanewigge." Swapham also describes his beneficent acts as numerous and liberal, yet he could not escape calumny and

Peterburgh, we find the following:—"Benedictus, qui fecit construere *totam navem* ecclesiæ Burgi ex lapide et ligno à turre usque ad frontem." Dean Kipling says that Benedict's building ended where the two most westerly pillars are, and where the side ailes of the nave end." Epitome of the Hist. of Peterb. p. 17.

[56] Besides the Life of Henry II. and Richard I., which have been edited by Hearne (8vo. 2 vols. Oxford, 1735), from a MS. in the Harleian Library, he wrote a life of Becket, and directed numerous transcripts of it to be made. See Dr. O'Connor's Catal. of the Stowe MSS. 1—317.

enmity; for great discord then prevailed between the civil and ecclesiastical powers. "It would be tedious," says Patrick, "to tell the persecutions he endured, from a hard king, and from untamed tyrants, from foresters, and from other ministers." He died on the second ides of March, 1210, after which the revenues were received for the king till 1214, when Robert de Lyndesheye, a monk and sacrist of the house, was elected to succeed him. In the capacity of sacrist, he glazed more than thirty-nine windows of the church, which had been previously "stuffed with reeds and straw to keep out the rain." Besides making other improvements in his buildings here, he erected the chancel of the church at Oxney, and disafforested the district called Nasse-of-Burgh [57]. In the south cloister he formed a *lavatory*, for the use of the friars, the refectory being on the other side of the wall. According to Gunton this lavatory continued entire till the year 1651, when, with the whole cloister, it was destroyed [58].

Alexander de Holderness, the next abbot, was elected November the 30th, 1222, and built a hall at Cástor, another at Oundle, and the "*Solarium Magnum*," at the door of the abbot's chamber, with the *Cellarium* beneath. Dying November 19th, 1226, he was succeeded by Martin de Ramsey, who was installed at Peterburgh on the Sunday after the octaves of *Epiphany*, 1226-7. During his presidency Pope Gregory the Ninth granted a charter, called "*Magnum Privilegium*," to the Abbey. By common consent of the abbot and convent, sanctioned by the bishop of Lincoln, it was agreed that the abbot should not, under pain of excommunication, borrow money on usurious terms from the Jews, or even from the Christians.—During the government of his successor, Walter de St. Edmund, and in compliance with certain constitutions [59] made in a council at London, the

[57] "The description of the woods disafforested at this time forms a curious article in the older of the two Registers of Peterborough, preserved in the library of the Society of Antiquaries."—Dugdale, Mon. Ang. vol. i. p. 354.

[58] Gunton's History, &c. of Peterb. p. 28.

[59] These are called the "*Legatine Constitutions of Otto*," and were passed at "a council of all England holden at London, in the church of St. Paul, on the morrow after the octaves of St. Martin, A. D. 1237." This assembly consisted of the legate, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, all the bishops of the realm, two hundred armed soldiers, &c.; and decreed, that many

churches of Peterburgh, with those of Ramsey and Santrei were *dedicated*, in 1238, by the bishops of Lincoln and Exeter. This abbot was assiduous in the repairs and augmentation of the buildings of the Monastery, and was noted for his hospitality. King Henry III., with his queen and Prince Edward, were entertained here on one occasion, and the monarch personally on another. Thirty additional monks were added, making the whole number one hundred and ten, to the establishment by this abbot, who, after presiding here twelve years, died January, 1245. The custody of the Abbey was then entrusted to "Magister R. de Gosebek," who either sold, wasted, or carried away every thing that was moveable.

John de Caleto, *Calecto*, or *Kaleto*, who was appointed abbot in 1248, gave a great *bell*[60] to the church, and built the *infirmary*[61] at the west end of the chapel of St. Lawrence, of which some interesting portions remain.

Robert de Sutton, who was elected on the seventeenth of the kalends of April, 1262, was installed with great splendour. Two years afterwards he joined the barons in defending the town of Northampton against the king. The latter, with his son Edward, espying the banner of the Abbey waving among the troops, threatened vengeance against the abbot and his house. To avert the royal anger, De Sutton paid a heavy fine, and agreed with the monks to join the king's forces. "During the whole of the contest between the king and the barons, the hospitality of the Monastery was continued, and partaken of by the partisans of either side[62]." In a parliament held at Winchester, after the battle of Evesham, our abbot was again fined to a large amount for his "tergiversation." According to W. de Whyttlesey, he was obliged to pay at least four thousand three hundred and twenty-four pounds, before he obtained the king's favour. The succeeding monarch,

churches and some cathedrals, not having been *consecrated with holy oil*, though built of old, shall be solemnly dedicated within two years. New churches were also to be dedicated within the same period. The diocesan is likewise required to see all new works finished without delay, or deny his licence. See Johnson's "Ecclesiastical Laws," &c. part ii. sheet K.

[60] On this was inscribed, "*Jon de Caus, Abbas Oswaldo, consecrat hoc vas.*"

[61] Dean Kipling states that the monks, after serving fifty years in the Monastery, were entitled to retire to the Infirmary, exempt from the duties and cares of office.

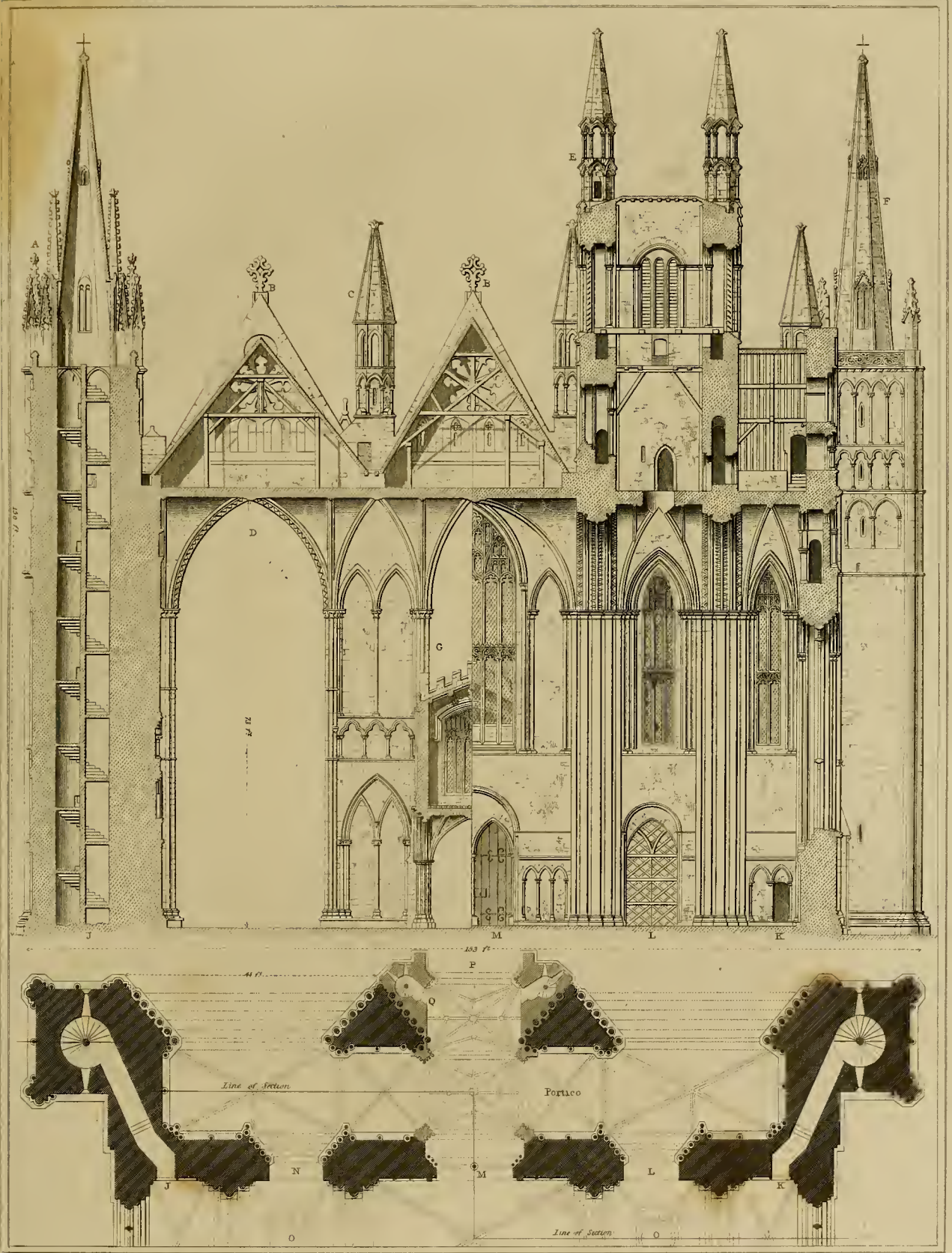
[62] Dugdale, Mon. Angl. vol. i. p. 356, from Walter de Whyttlesey, 134, *ut sup.*

Edward I., visited the abbot in the first year of his reign, and at this place signed a charter to the church of Ely.

Richard de London, after passing the offices of subchamberlain, prior, and sacrist, was elected abbot at the age of sixty. As sacrist he erected one of the "greatest steeples of the church." In 1272 the *Lady Chapel* was built by William Parys, the prior, on the north side of the church.

William de Woodford, or Wodeford, was the next abbot. The most memorable act of his time was a taxation of all the manors of the Abbey, by papal authority, which was done by twenty-four jurats—twelve clergymen, and twelve laymen, the particulars of which are preserved in Swapham's History. Dying September 2, 1299, he was succeeded by Godfery de Croyland, who being in favour with the king obtained the remission of certain fees on his appointment. The king also made him a present of a silver cup, gilt. W. de Whyttlesey gives a minute record, or journal, of this abbot's government and good deeds; among which it is related that he built many granges, stables, and other offices on the manors of the Abbey, erected mills, planted woods and orchards, and effected other improvements. "In his fourth year he began a *new entrance to the Abbey*, which he completed in his ninth year[63]." This is presumed to be the *great gate-house* leading to the bishop's palace, over which was the knight's chamber; on the walls of which were pictures of knights, with their coats of arms, &c. He also lengthened the chancel of Oxeney church, and, in his ninth year, built a new *bridge* across the Nen, which being carried away by ice, he built one of larger dimensions in the following year. The king and queen were sumptuously entertained here in 1303; and soon afterwards Prince Edward and Pierce Gaveston were also treated with much hospitality. The monarch was received a second time at Burgh; and was liberally assisted by the abbot in his wars with the Scots. Two cardinals travelling from London to Scotland, to negotiate peace between the rival kingdoms, were splendidly received by our abbot, both in going to, and returning from the embassy. The authority already referred to, says that Godfrey expended three thousand six hundred and forty-six pounds, four shillings, and threepence, on the

[63] Mon. Angl. vol. i. p. 358; and Gunton's History, &c. p. 40.



J. Britton dirext H. Ansted del. Scale of 40 0 10 20 30 40 50 feet Engraved by J. Le Keux.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

PLAN & SECTION, WEST FRONT.

To the REVd THOS GARBETT, M.A. Master of the Grammar School of Peterborough, &c. this plate is inscribed by the AUTHOR.

Printed by Barnett & Son

Published Jany 1, 1827, by Longman & Coe Paternoster Row

purchase of lands, &c. for the monks, and in presentations. After governing for twenty-two years with much liberality, credit to himself, and advantage to the Abbey, he died in September, 1321, and was interred at the east end of the choir of his church. Gunton and Brown Willis describe the slab stone with the figure of the abbot in brass, and an inscription on the verge.

Of Adam de Botheby's abbacy, the successor of Godfrey, the anonymous continuator of Whittlesey has recorded a circumstantial narrative; from which it appears that Edward the Third, his Queen, John of Eltham, and the whole court, passed the Easter at Burgh in 1327, on which occasion the abbot expended four hundred and eighty-seven pounds, six shillings, and five-pence. Again, during five subsequent years, he is charged in the monastic accounts with eight hundred and sixteen pounds, eighteen shillings, and threepence, for expenses in providing entertainments for the monarch and his family with the dowager queen; and afterwards he lodged and treated Prince Edward, with his sisters and suite, for eight weeks: whence it may be inferred that the royal family became a heavy tax on the establishment. At his death, in November, 1338, the king was at Antwerp, which occasioned delay in placing a successor in the See of Peterborough. Henry de Morcot, the next abbot, obtained the king's license to convert the parochial church of *Irtlingburgh* into a collegiate foundation, for six secular canons, one of whom was to be dean. William Genge, appointed in 1396, was, according to Gunton, the first *mitred* abbot of Burgh; but it appears that an abbot had been summoned to parliament, in the fourth year of Edward the Third. During Genge's abbacy the *parish church* of this town, which was on the east side of the Cathedral, in St. John's Close, and subject to floods, was taken down, and a new one erected, in the middle of the town, west of the Cathedral, where it now stands. It was completed in 1407.

Richard Aston was elected abbot in 1438; during his rule a fair was granted for three days, to be held at the southern extremity of the town, in Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire. It is now called Brigg, or *Bridge Fair*. At the time of Aston's election there were sixty-four monks in the Monastery, but thirty-two "of the best of them" died, in consequence of which the numerous church duties at festivals, commemora-

tions, and masses could not be performed. The building at the east end of the church was commenced by this abbot, and completed by Robert Kirton, who was appointed to succeed *Ramsey* in 1496. To Kirton we may ascribe the beautiful *Gateway* of entrance to the deanery, also an apartment in the bishop's palace, called *Heaven's Gate*, or chamber; attached to both of which he left his hieroglyphic signature, i. e. a *kirk*, or church—upon a *tun* or barrel. The state of the Monastery and town, about this time, may be inferred from the facts that Abbot Ramsey accepted a bribe of forty shillings, to suffer a felon to escape from prison; for which he was indicted at the sessions, found guilty, and forced to give security for his good behaviour. About one hundred tenants of the Abbey rose in insurrection, and committed great waste. When the Bishop of Lincoln visited Burgh in the nineteenth year of Kirton's abbacy, he found great disorders and irregularities practised by the monks. One had stolen jewels from St. Oswald's shrine, and given them to women in the town; others haunted a tavern near the Monastery, where they continued singing and dancing till ten and eleven o'clock at night.

With the next abbot, John Browne, of Burgh, or Chambers, we close the History of the Abbey, and commence that of the *Cathedral.* He was advanced to the abbatial chair in 1528, and entertained the magnificent Cardinal Wolsey here, at Easter in his first year. This "proud prelate," as Shakspeare calls him, was humble enough, according to monastic practices, to wash and kiss the feet of fifty-nine poor people, to each of whom he gave twelve-pence, three ells of *canvass* for shirts, a pair of shoes, and a portion of red herrings. Another memorable event connected with this abbot's life, is the interment of *Katharine of Arragon*, the first wife of King Henry VIII., who, dying at Kimbolton Castle, in Huntingdonshire, January 8, 1535-6, was brought to, and deposited in, the south aile of the choir of the Abbey Church. Lord Herbert, in his Life of Henry VIII., and Holinshed, ascribe the preservation of the Abbey, and its conversion into a Cathedral, to this event; for although the lustful and murderous tyrant had long been divorced from this queen, and had married Anne Boleyn, he appears to have felt something of esteem, or respect for the

noble minded lady[64], whom he had treated with such heartless contumely[65]. Some of the courtiers are said to have suggested to the king, "how well it would become his greatness to erect a fair monument for her; he answered, Yes, he would leave her one of the goodliest in the kingdom,—meaning this church[66]." Soon afterwards this Abbey, with many others, was dissolved, and the Abbey Church was converted into a *Cathedral*[67]. As that event constitutes a new and distinct feature in the history of the establishment, it will be expedient to appropriate a separate chapter to this branch of the subject.

[64] In a letter addressed to her royal husband, when on her deathbed, she says, although "you have cast me into many calamities, and yourself into many troubles, I forgive you all, and pray God to do so likewise." She dictated another letter to Eustachius, urging him to request the emperor to interfere with the king, in behalf of her dying requests, as "otherwise he might forget them."—Lord Herbert's Life, &c. of Henry VIII.

[65] A very interesting volume has lately been published, relating to the life and times of this monarch. It is entitled "The Privy-purse Expences of King Henry the Eighth, from 1529 to 1532: with introductory Remarks and illustrative Notes, by N. H. Nicolas, Esq." 8vo. 1827. In this work there are entries of various sums of money, for clothes and treats to Anne Boleyn. For clothes there were advanced, during three years, four hundred and sixty-eight pounds, six shillings, and one penny; which, with other conduct towards her, induces the meritorious editor to remark, "It is impossible to avoid reflecting on the little regard that was then paid to the virtuous Katharine. That her name should be but twice mentioned (in these long accounts), speaks volumes on her secluded situation; and whilst all that wealth and power could command were lavished on the new favourite, the magnanimous wife was equally neglected by her husband, his satellites, and the world." A few years after her death the king ordered the sum of sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and fourpence to be given to Mrs. Blanch Twyford, "for her long and painful service done unto the princess dowager, by way of the king's reward."

[66] Hist. of Peterb. p. 330.

[67] Four other monastic churches were also made Cathedrals. These were Gloucester, Bristol, Oxford, and Chester.

Chap. II.

HISTORICAL PARTICULARS OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERY, FOUNDATION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SEE, AND BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES OF THE BISHOPS.

The dissolution of the numerous monastic establishments of this island by Henry the Eighth, constitutes one of the most important, momentous, and remarkable events and revolutions of this country. It created an entire change—a new aspect and condition in the state of society. It first disorganised and then annihilated a power which had been for centuries gradually acquiring dominion, and exercising tyranny over the whole community. Not merely the mass of the people, but the merchants, nobles, and even the monarchs themselves were severally and collectively subservient to its decrees. By playing with and working on the hopes and fears —the weaknesses and infirmities of the human mind—by craft and subtle policy, by ostentation and grand display, the various abbots, priors, and monks seemed superior to all political and civil authority—and became indeed at times paramount in the kingdom. Nothing therefore but a fearless, despotic, and determined monarch could cope with, and subdue such a system: nor would even despotism itself have succeeded in the attempt, had not a few intrepid and high minded persons exerted their influence and abilities in opposing the monastic system. This, like nearly all other religious and political institutions, had enervated itself by indulgence and self-confidence; and had provoked popular opposition and hostility by repeated oppression and intolerant bigotry. The monarch and his courtiers were both calculated and qualified to rescue the country from this power: but it must not be inferred that either real virtue, or good principles, were the sole motives to influence them. The king had his private enmity to gratify against the pope, and had also his love of power and wealth to indulge, whilst

many of his nobles looked forward to a prosperous harvest in sharing the property which was to be confiscated. Acts of parliament were passed to preclude the pope from any authority in England: and the payment of Peter-pence, all dispensations, procurations, provisions, bulls, delegacies, rescripts, licences, faculties, grants, relaxations, rehabilitations, abolitions, &c. were prohibited[1]. In the House of Commons, in 1534, the pope and his predecessors were stigmatised as impostors; and the same parliament granted to the king, as supreme head of the church of England, all the powers, prerogatives, and emoluments, which had been taken from his holiness. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the English bishops were called on to subscribe to the king's supremacy, and to justify his authority and power against the pretensions of the Roman pontiff. Sheriffs and schoolmasters were enjoined to promote the same measures, and to keep strict watch on the monks and their followers. Such a state of things could not be continued with tranquillity, or with tame submission: it was one tyranny struggling with and endeavouring to crush another. Some of the abbots and monks rebelled, but were soon subdued and punished; whilst those of more ductile dispositions and prudent policy were either provided with pensions for life, or appointed to bishoprics. Such was the case with John Chambers[2], already named. Gunton says, "I have not seen any

[1] Statutes, 25 Henry VIII. cap. 21, &c.

[2] Gunton's reflection on Chambers's subserviency to the monarch is pronounced by Bishop Kennett to be "ungrateful and unjust;" for to that is to be ascribed the preservation of the church, and establishment of a See, &c. A letter from William Parre, one of the visitors, or commissioners who were sent to Peterborough, addressed to Lord Cromwell, sufficiently explains the abbot's conduct. It is preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, and states, "the abbot upon the rumor spred abrode of the comyng down of the visitors, & not upon any occasion given or ministered to hym either in worde or dede by Doctor Layton, shewed *himself to be affrayed*, insomuch as at my furst commyng thidder he required of me myne advice & favor what was best for hym to do." He is described as wishing to preserve his house, but the visitor avoided giving him pledge or satisfaction. The Marshal of the abbot's hall, Sir Thomas Tresham, and John Layne were then employed to negotiate, and offer, through the said visitor to "the king's highnes on hoole yeeres rent of all the lands appurteyneng to the Monastery, whiche I thinke ammountethe nighe upon two thousande & five hundred marks;" and also a fee, or bribe, of three hundred pounds to Lord Cromwell. These terms not succeeding, the abbot then said he would be wholly governed by the direction of Lord Cromwell and the visitor.

record showing how J. Chambers demeaned himself towards King Henry, or complied with him in that great dissolution of Abbeys, that the king should continue him in his place, and not put him to death as he did some, or depose him as he did others: but probable it is that the abbot loved to sleep in a whole skin, and desired to die in his nest, wherein he had lived so long, and perhaps might use such means as might preserve (if not his means to the church, yet) his church to posterity[3]." An inventory was taken, in 1539, of all vestments, images, altars, and decorations belonging to the Church,—also of the furniture, plate, provender, stock, manors, &c. belonging to the Abbey, all of which were committed, by the king's commissions to the custody of the abbot[4]. On the first of March, 1540, he

[3] Hist. of Peterb. p. 58.

[4] The following INVENTORY will be useful in shewiug the quantity and quality of furniture, appendages, and decorations belonging to tbe Church and to tbe Abbey. It also specifies the names of several cbapels, and of articles which were in use at tbe time of the dissolution.

Four CROSSES: one set with crystal, silver and gilt; one silver gilt with staff of silver; one of byrral witb staff of silver; an old one plated upon wood.

Five staves of the *rectore's chori* with heads of silver. Candlesticks: two gilt, and two parcel gilt. Three censors gilt and parcel gilt. One sbip, gilt, with a foot. Ten chalices gilt, with patens. A boly water stock, parcel gilt. A ghospeller and a *super altare*, garnished with silver, and gilt. Two verge rods of silver.

ALTAR CLOTHS: one of two kings and bisbops; two of purple velvet, embroidered with eagles and flower de-Luces; two of bawdkyn; two of clotb of silver; two of bawdkyn with lepers and stars; two of white bawdkyn; one of wbite diaper embroidered with bucks.

ALBES: twenty-seven red, for passion week; eight with crowns and moons; fourteen red; forty blue, of divers sorts; twenty-seven to be worn on single feasts: six witb Peter-keys; six called tbe Kydds; seven called Meltons; six called Doggs; eight with apples of clotb of gold; eight with apples of blue tissue; five old witb red tissue; eigbt embroidered with vines; fourteen embroidered with divers sorts; thirty of old clotb of bawdkyn; niue embroidered with green; tbirteen of divers sorts; fourteen green with counterfeit clotb of gold; four called ferial wbite; seven called ferial black.

VESTMENTS: one suit of crimson velvet upon velvet, with a cope and albe suitable to the same; one chesuble, witb an albe called tbe Burgon; one suit of blue damask with a cope, and tbirteen albes to the same; one of purple velvet, embroidered with flowers and angels, with a cope and five albes; one of black velvet, with a cope and four albes with flowers; one of rich wbite cloth of bawdkyn with seven albes; one of blue velvet with five albes; one suit of red velvet with ragged staves and tbree albes; one of crimson velvet witb flowers, and one cope and tbree albes; one of red satin with three albes; one of red tissew witb tbree tunicles; one suit of

was required to resign the whole to the monarch, but was granted an annual pension of two hundred and sixty pounds, thirteen shillings, and fourpence, with one hundred loads of wood. In the following year Letters Patent were passed to convert the Monastery and its church into an episcopal See and

blue tissew with two tunicles; one of cloth of gold with orphers of tissue; one suit called the Crowns with two copes; one suit called the Londus with four copes; one of Peter-keys with two copes; one of the Doggs with two copes; one of the Melton's, so called, with eight copes; one called Overton's with three copes; one white suit called Godfrey's; one of white silk, called the Georges, with eight copes; one suit called the Kydds with four copes; one of red needle-work with two copes; one of green silk, called the Martyr's, with four copes; one called the Squirel's with two copes; one of green silk, called the Cocks, with one cope; one of green velvet with one cope; one of yellow silk with two copes; one of changeable silk with one cope; one called the Daysies with one cope; one called the Popinjay's; one of purple velvet; one of black velvet with an albe; three tuuicles of black woorsted; one of coarse red; three tunicles with Peter-keys; one vestment called the Vines.

COPES: of these there were one hundred and fifteen of different sorts, and designated by different names.

In the QUIRE, or CHOIR were—the high altar, plated with silver, well gilt with one image of Christ's passion, and a little shrine of copper enamelled, for the sacrament: two pair of organs and two desks of latten; seven basins hanging with four candlesticks, and banners of silk, joining to the tomb where Queen Katharine lieth buried; in the enclosed place where the lady Katharine lieth buried, one altar cloth of black cloth; one pall of black velvet, with white cloth of silver crossed, and one white altar cloth; two candlesticks of silver, parcel gilt; one chalice and two crewets, gilt; one pair of vestments of black velvet with albe; ten cloaths called pede-cloths, to lye before the high altar; sixteen cloaths to hang in the quire; three altars at the upper end of the church, upon every altar a table of the passion of Christ, gilt, with three staincd fronts.

In THE LADY'S CHAPEL: an image of our Lady with *reddis Rissey*, set in a tabernacle, well gilt on wood, with twelve great images and thirty-four small images: a pair of organs, one desk and four seats; one tabernacle of the Trinity and one of our Lady, one desk, four pede-cloaths called tapets:—two vestments of white damask, with flowers, one red vestment of satten with flowers, and albes for the same: one suit of crimson velvet with orphers of imagery of gold, one cope and four albes; three white altar cloaths, with three old painted fronts; two orfers, eight surplisses.

There were CHAPELS, rcspectively dedicated to ST. JOHN, ST. JAMES, and the Trinity; also others called the OSTRIE, LOW, the ABBOT'S GALLERIE, and one attached to the Infirmary, all of which had their appropriate altars and cloaths, candlesticks, vestments, chests, almery, bells, images, &c.

In the ROOD LOFT werc a table upon the altar, eighteen images well gilt, a desk, orfers, &c.

In the BODY OF THE CHURCH was an altar with images, four lamps, &c.

Cathedral, and the town into a city. A bishop, a dean, and six prebendaries were also appointed to govern the whole: the first to have episcopal jurisdiction over the city, and the counties of Northampton and Rutland, excepting a few peculiars; whilst the archdeacon of Northampton, who had previously been under the authority of the bishop of Lincoln, was henceforward to be subject to the bishop of this See[5]. The property belonging to the Monastery was now divided into three parts, one of which the king held as his own share, one was appropriated to the bishop, and the third to the dean and chapter. According to Bridges, the latter were

In the SOUTH AILE was *St. Oswald's Chapel,* containing an altar, a tahle gilt of St. Oswald, &c. In *St. Bennet's Chapel* was also an altar, a tahle, gilt, with the story of St. Bennet.

In *St. Kyneburgh's Chapel,* an altar, with a tahle, gilt, &c.

In THE CLOYSTER, a conduit, or lavatory, of "tynne," with divers coffers and seats.

In the *Abbot's Hall:* four fixed tahles with forms, one tahle with two tressels at the high bench, the hangings, old tapestery, one cuphoard, one chair, one chaffer. The inventory also specifies several different articles in the ahhot's kitchen, fish-house, hrewhouse, garnet, harnes, Eyehury farm, &c.; likewise the *plate.*

The dimensions and different parts of the CHURCH, and the Ahhey buildings, are specified in the same inventory as follows:—

Church: length, "eight score yards,"—hreadth, thirty-four yards. *Lady Chapel:* length, forty-six yards, and hreadth fourteen. Cross isle, on the north side, in length eighteen yards, and hreadth twelve. Three Chapels, with entry into the Ladys Chapel, fourteen hy seven yards. Isle on the south side with the chapels, twenty-one hy twenty yards. Cloyster ahout four-square, one hundred and sixty-eight yards in length hy six yards. *Chapter House,* twenty-eight by eleven yards. Great Dormitory, sixty-four hy thirteen yards. Little Dortor, thirty-three hy twelve yards. Fratry, fifty-four by fourteen yards. Infirmary, sixty-five hy ten yards. Chapel at the gate of the Monastery, fourteen by eight yards. Vestry, eighteen hy six yards. Ahhot's Hall, thirty-two hy twelve yards. Ahhot's Great Chamher, thirty-three by ten yards. The Convent's Kitchen, twenty-five yards long. In the two Steeples of the Monastery, at the west end of the Church, are ten hells, and in other places four more hells. The lavers in the cloister weigh one hundred pounds.

The preceding (Note 4) is copied from Gunton's History, &c., and the spelling is strictly preserved.

[5] There is neither mayor nor corporation at Peterhorough; hut *the Dean and Chapter* are lords of the manor, and their bailiff is returning officer in the election of burgesses. They appoint the coroner, and the steward of the court of common-pleas, and receive the tolls of fairs and markets. In short, they possess the same civil authority as was formerly vested in the ahhot.

to be exempt not only from the visitation of the bishop of Lincoln, but to be an entire independent corporation of themselves. The whole site and bounds of the Monastery,—excepting the abbot's house and gardens, which were assigned to the bishop,—were vested in them, together with certain manors, lands, and tenements; and they were provided with dwelling houses in the precincts[6].

The prelacy of Chambers we may conclude to have been peaceable, for during his term of fifteen years, from 1541, there are no memorable acts recorded[7]. He is said to have raised a monument in the Abbey Church, A. D. 1530, commemorative of himself, as abbot, and another of white chalk stone, as bishop, on which, Gunton says, was his "statue exquisitely carved;" but both were demolished in 1643. Dying in 1556, he bequeathed twenty pounds for the reparation of the bridge at Peterborough, and another twenty pounds towards the repair of the Cathedral.

David Pole, or Poole, LL. D. his successor, was consecrated Bishop, August 15, 1557; but two years afterwards was deprived for denying the queen's supremacy, "being then esteemed a grave person and very quiet subject[8]." Though committed to custody, he was soon liberated; and, according to Heylin, was treated with clemency by the queen, and with

[6] Some essential parts of these estates were afterwards granted away by succeeding officers of the church. Dean Latymer and the Chapter first transferred the whole lordship and manor of Stamford-Baron to Sir William Cecil, secretary to Queen Elizabeth, for the paltry consideration of an annual payment of fifteen pounds, seventeen shillings, and threepence farthing to the dean and chapter. Again, Bishop Scambler, in 1576, demised to Queen Elizabeth the whole of the hundred of Nassaburgh, with all its rights, privileges, &c. with the manors of Thirlby, Southorp, aud Tanholt-herne. That monarch soon afterwards granted the same property to her favourite treasurer, who was to pay annually to the said bishop three pounds, six shillings, and eightpence for the hundred, and six pounds for the manor. Dean Kipling says that the manor of Thirlby now pays thirty-eight pounds annually, and Tanholt-herne thirty-three pounds.

[7] Godwin, in his Commentary "De Præsulibus," confounds him with John Chambers, who was a doctor of medicine and dean of St. Stephen's college, Westminster; and other writers have repeated the same mistake.

[8] Wood's "Athenæ Oxoniensis," vol. ii. col. 801, edit. 1815.

courtesy by all persons with whom he lived. He died at a good old age at one of his farms, in May or June, 1568, and was buried in the Cathedral.

Edmund Scambler, chaplain to Archbishop Parker, was consecrated Bishop of this See, February 16, 1560, and was permitted to hold it in commendam, with prebendal stalls at York and at Westminster. After ruling here for twenty-four years, he was translated to Norwich, December 15, 1584[9], where, as at Peterborough, he rendered his memory infamous by injuring the revenues of his See [10]; "as if," says Gunton, "King Henry had not taken away enough, the bishop himself would take away more." On his first episcopal visitation, this prelate prescribed to the dean and chapter a series of twenty-three rules, or doctrinal articles, by which it is evident he was no friend to the Church of Rome; and for these, or for some other part of his conduct, he is branded in the Roman Index books with the title of *Pseudo Episcopus.*

Richard Howland, D. D. a fellow of Peter House, and afterwards master of St. John's College, Cambridge, was consecrated Bishop of this See at Lambeth, February 8, 1584. This prelate's government is remarkable on account of the interment of *Mary Queen of Scots,* who dying at Fotheringay Castle, was brought to this Cathedral, August 1, 1587. The bishop of Lincoln, and not Bishop Howland, preached the funeral sermon, which, according to Dean Patrick, "made a great noise among factious people." In a subsequent page will be found some account of this funeral, &c. Bishop Howland died at Castor, June 23, 1600, and was interred near the altar steps of the choir in his own Cathedral.

Thomas Dove, who was chaplain to Queen Elizabeth and dean of Norwich, was advanced to this See, and consecrated at Lambeth, April 26, 1601. Her majesty "was wont to call him *the Dove* with silver wings," from his excellency of preaching and reverend aspect and deportment. He

[9] See History and Antiquities of Norwich Cathedral, by the author of this volume.

[10] See Bridges's History, &c. of Northamptonshire, ii. 488, in which are some particulars respecting this hundred, and of its double transfer to the queen and to the Exeter family.

held the vicarage of Saffron Walden, in commendam, where he sometimes resided, and was also rector of Heydon, both in Essex. Continuing a bishop for thirty years to "his great honor," he kept up a "free house" with much hospitality; yet, says Gunton, he was careful of posterity, and left a fair estate to his heirs. Dying on the 30th of August, 1630, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, he was buried in the north transept of his Cathedral, where a "comely monument of a quadrangular form," with his effigy, was erected to his memory, both of which were destroyed in 1643[11], but Gunton has preserved a copy of the long epitaph.

Of William Peirse, or Piers, D. D. who was advanced to the bishoprick, and installed November 14, 1630, I have given a memoir in the History and Antiquities of Wells Cathedral, p. 75. After presiding here two years he was promoted to the See of Bath and Wells, and Augustine Lindsell, D. D. was appointed his successor. He was dean of Lichfield at the time of his promotion, and only remained here two years, when he was advanced to Hereford in 1633. In his time the rectory of Castor was annexed to the bishoprick, to be held in commendam, through the influence of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury. Lindsell is said to have been a man of great learning, and produced an edition of Theophylact, on St. Paul's Epistles, in Greek and Latin, fol. 1636.

Francis Dee, D. D., advanced from the deanery of Chichester, was installed Bishop of this See, May 28, 1634. He presided here little more than four years, dying in 1638, and was buried near the throne, in the choir. By his will he bequeathed one hundred pounds towards the repair of the Cathedral.

John Towers, D. D. who was dean of this Cathedral at the death of the late bishop, was advanced to the See, and installed March 8, 1638-9. The civil discords which soon afterwards ensued, not merely engrossed much of the time and attention of this prelate, but involved him in great troubles,

[11] In Bishop Dove's time a new *font* was placed in the body of the church, where there had not been any before.

and his Cathedral in havoc and desolation. Dean Patrick has preserved an account of the ravages which were committed here, and which not only swept away almost all the monuments, painted windows, and other interesting features of the Cathedral, but greatly injured the building itself. He says, that "the Church of Peterborough was famous for three remarkable things,—a stately front, a curious altar-piece, and a beautiful cloister," the two latter of which were entirely "destroyed by sacrilegious hands." He appropriates eight pages to describe, "from an eyewitness," the operations of the soldiers on the Cathedral, &c. About the middle of April, 1643, several forces came to this city, in order to besiege Croyland, which was held as a garrison for the king. First came a "foot regiment under Colonel Hubbard, who were strictly commanded not to do injury to the Church, which he ordered to be locked up. Next came a regiment of horse under Colonel *Cromwell*, "a name as fatal to ministers, as it had been to Monasteries before." Next day they broke open the Church doors, and proceeded immediately to batter and destroy the monuments, &c. within [12].

In "the *Mercurius Rusticus*" is a narrative of these occurrences, which cannot be read without exciting the mingled emotions of contempt, indignation, and disgust, at the fanaticism, sottish folly, and illiterate barbarity of the people who could be guilty of so much senseless destruction. Part of

[12] Patrick gives the following account of the preservation of the antient Register, called "*Swapham*. One book indeed, and but one, still remains which was happily redeemed from the fire by the then precentor of the church, Mr. Humfrey Austin, who knowing the great value of it, first hid it, in February, 1642, under a seat in the quire: and when it was found by a soldier on the twenty-second of April, 1643 (when all the seats were pulled down), rescued it again by the offer of ten shillings, 'for that old Latin Bible,' as he called it, and about which he pretended to enquire. The name of the Bible by the help of the ten shillings preserved this precious treasure from the flames, whither it was going: as Mr. Austin hath left a record in the beginning of the book; with a copy of the soldier's acknowledgment, that he had given him satisfaction for it, in these words:"

'*I pray let this Scripture Book alone, for he hath paid me for it, and therefore I would desire you to let it alone. By me* HENRY TOPCLYFFE, *souldyer under Captain Cromwell, Colonel Cromwell's sonn; therefore I pray let it alone.*'—By me Henry Topclyffe.

this narrative is repeated in a note below, omitting the introductory part of the comments as being puerile and canting, and manifesting nearly as intemperate and intolerant a spirit as was shewn by the Cromwellian soldiers [13]. The Cathedral, being thus ruined and desolate, was afterwards used as a Parish Church for presbyterian worship: after the Restoration the dilapi-

[13] Extract from "the Mercurius Rusticus; or, the Countries Complaint," edit. 1646, p. 245, "*The Cathedral Church of Peterboro' robb'd, defac'd, & spoyl'd by Cromwell & his schismatical Adherents, &c.*"

After a preamble about the delay in publishing the narrative, a brief account of the foundation of the Abbey, and its destruction by the Danes, and great change by Henry the Eighth, it proceeds to state, "We know not where to enter upon a narration, except at the great west window (where Cromwell's souldiers made their first breach & entrance) which was adorned with such variety of ecclesiasticall history, as will evidence them to be deformers of that thorough reformation in our blessed queene's time of happy memory, whom, notwithstanding, they so highly cried up. From hence they presently hurried up to the quire, where as soon as they had broke open the doors they, according to their trade & custome in other places, fell on tearing in pieces the books of divine service & sacred anthems, yea (which may seem more strange) they were so hot against preaching or hearing sermons, that all the seats of the auditors were plucked up, and the pulpit, the place of the divine oracle, & the book-seat pulled down, with that black-mouthed cry, 'Downe with that throne of antichrist, down with it even to the ground.' And when their zeale had driven them to that height of impietie, that some standers-by could not behold it without some reluctancy, which moved one of them to request Cromwell, that he would please to stay his souldiers from further defacing & ruining that place; all the satisfaction he could get, was but a provocation on to further mischief, replying, That his gods were a pulling down; & when the other answered, That the God he served was beyond the reach of souldiers, Cromwell told them, That they did God good service in the action; as if even in these days were fulfilled that prophesie of our Saviour, John xvi. 2, 'The time is coming, whosoever does the greatest mischiefe will thinke he serveth God.' But observe the wages that Divine Justice repaid one of them for their worke, which may testify how he accepted of the same; when they had demolished the quire, the east end was the next they aimed at, where one espying in the roof right over the communion table, our Saviour pourtrayed, coming in glory with his holy angels, and at the foure corners four Evangelists (none of which they will endure as knowing how opposite they are unto them) he charged his musket to shatter them down, but by the rebound of his own shot was struck blind. If he did his God good therehy he did himselfe an ill turne, his wickednesse falling on his own pate; he lay a long while in a wofull condition, & never recovered his former sight. His life by God's mercy was reprieved that he might repent, but he was sorely scourged that he might take notice there is punishment for sacrilege, and bare witnesse of that truth unto his fellowes, although he found more favor than Calisthenes, who attempting to burn the temples, by setting fire on the gates, was for that act himselfe burned: or Alcinus, who whilst he was

dated Lady Chapel was taken down, and the materials sold, to provide money for repairing the Cathedral. After Dr. Towers's death the See continued vacant twelve years, when

Benjamin Laney, D. D. was elected, and was consecrated December 2, 1660. He had been master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and dean of

pulling the house of God downe, was struck with a palsie, and dyed in torment." [In Dean Patrick's narrative this story is differently told, and the blindness is supposed to be only 'blind zeal.'] "Some would have thought that that remarkable judgement overtaking him so on the sudden sufflaminated their running on, & that striking of him blind should have opened their eyes. But let favour be shewed to the wicked, yet they will not learne righteousnesse in the land of uprightnesse, they will deal unjustly, and will not behold the majestie of the Lord; but, Lord, when thy hand is lifted up they will not see, as thou foretoldest by the Prophet, *Essay.* xxvi. 10, 11, 13, it should come to passe, 'When other lords besides thee have dominion over us;' they were not at all deterred, neither left any wayes unattempted to get downe that roofe which ladders failed, they cut the bell ropes (which if rightly applyed, might have cured their itch) to eke out their tackling, till they reached it with their pole-axes, & brake downe the carved workes, *Psal.* vii. 4. Afterwards, espying that rare structure of stone-workes over the altar, admired by all travellers for the excellent artifices, which was no ways guilty of superstitious workmanship, they made all of it rubbish, breaking up also the rayles of which they compiled bone-fires, tumbling the communion-table over & over, they were also so offended with all memorialls of the dead (knowing themselves in the number of those whose memories at the best shall perish, as if they had never beene) that *not one monument in the Church* remained undefaced, no not of the pious Benefactors (whose accusation was sufficient, they had done good to the Church) not those faire tombes of Katharine, Queen Dowager of Spaine, the repudiate of King H. 8 & Mary, albeit Queen of Scots. It was great a crime to have beene queenes; the marble walls, & guards of irons wherewith they were surrounded & incircled could not preserve them in repose from all their miseries, but they would adde this one unto the rest, to lay the emblemes of their honours in the dust, pulling away the hearse of black velvet, and carrying away whatsoever was vendible. When their unhallowed toylings had made them out of wind, they took breath afresh on two pair of organs, pipiug with the very same about the market place lascivious jigges, whilst their comrades daunced after them, some in the coapes, others with the surplices; & downe they brake the bellowes to blow the coals of their further mischilfe, and lest any should ring auke for the fire they had made, they left the bells speechlesse, taking out their clappers, which they sold with the brasse they slaied from the graven stones, & the tin & iron from other parts of the Church & Chappells belonging thereto, which were many, and richly adorned, but the daugbters fared no better than the mother, there was not suffered any window to remain unshattered, or remarkable place in them unruined, their intent being to leave those consecrated wals as a room fitted for vermine to nestle in, or which was worse for Cap. Ashwell to exercise his souldiers in, where while he was in town he made his rendezvous, and when they went away, set fire on some part of the wood work, to have burnt the remainder, if it

Rochester: was employed in the service of King Charles the Second, at Uxbridge; and also attended that monarch in his exile. His stay at Peterborough was only two years, when he was advanced to the See of Lincoln, and thence to Ely, where he died in 1674. Dean Patrick says he gave "one hundred pounds toward the repairing one of the great arches of the church-porch, which was fallen down in the late times [14]. After his death there was published a volume from his papers, entitled "Observations on a Letter about Liberty and Necessity," in reply to Thomas Hobbes.

Joseph Henshaw, D. D. was advanced from the deanery of Chichester, and installed Bishop May 28, 1663. He was author of "*Horæ Succisivæ*," 8vo. 1653, which has attained seven editions; the last was published in 12mo. 1661; also "Dayly Thoughts," 8vo. third edition, 1651. Dying suddenly in London, March 9, 1678, his body was conveyed to the church of East Lavant, in Sussex, to be interred near the grave of his consort [15].

William Lloyd, D. D. bishop of Landaff, was advanced to this See in May, 1679, and promoted to that of Norwich in June, 1685. He was deprived of the latter in 1690, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, and retired to Hammersmith, near London, where he resided till the year 1710, when having outlived all his brother non-juring bishops, he died, and was interred in the belfry of the chapel of that place.

had not been timely discovered, neither did the cloysters attending scape better than those they were made to wait upon, though these, both in their roof and glazing, might be compared with the chiefest Cathedrals, the first square being beautified with the history of the Old Testament, the second of the New, the third shewed the whole relation of those by whom the Church was builded, the fourth presented us with all the effigies of our kings since William the Conqueror. But it seemes these unreasonable & wicked men care for scripture & princes, & pious monuments all alike, their wide throats were as open sepulchers, their sacrilegious appetites (being yet unsatisfied with devouring) must needs swallow up the lands appertaining to that Church; to which, that they might pretend the juster title, they broke open the charter-houses, plundered away the great charter, all the evidences, leases, and other writings belonging thereunto, manifesting their parties desires to have all estates of others to come & be at their arbitrary disposalls, and they unto whom in right they are due, to lye as these places & persons at this day, mourning in sackcloth & ashes."

[14] See Bridges's History of Northamptonshire, vol. ii. p. 561.

[15] Wood's "Athenæ Oxoniensis," by Dr. Bliss, vol. iii. col. 1195.

Thomas White, D. D. was installed Bishop of this See, November 9, 1685, and, like his predecessor, was deprived in 1690 by the king, for the same anti-royal offence. In 1688 he joined Archbishop Sancroft and five other bishops in petitioning King James II. against the exercise of this dispensing power, by which he attempted to introduce popery. He was sent to the Tower, and prosecuted by that infatuated monarch, and partook of the glorious acquittal, which an English jury, even in the worst of times, afforded. After the Revolution, however, retaining the feelings of loyalty to the exiled prince, by whom he had been prosecuted, he also refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new government, and like his predecessor, Bishop Lloyd, was deprived in 1690. He died May 9, 1698; and it is said that his executors could not obtain the burial service to be read at his grave, by Dr. Hickes, whom he appointed to inter him[16].

Richard Cumberland, D. D. was consecrated Bishop of Peterborough in 1691. He was a native of London; and, having been brought up in St. Paul's School, was sent to Magdalen College, Cambridge. He first studied physic for some years, but being induced to take orders, he was progressively promoted, first, to the rectory of Bampton in Oxfordshire, 1658, and was appointed one of the University Preachers in the same year; secondly, chaplain to the Lord Keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, 1668; thirdly, rector of All Saints, Stamford, 1680; and lastly, Bishop of this See[17]. His descendant, Richard Cumberland, the accomplished, but fretful author of "the Observer," and of numerous other works, has given an account of his great grandfather, in the Memoirs of himself[18]; and Archdeacon Payne, who married one of the bishop's daughters, has prefixed a short sketch of his life to an edition of "*Sanchoniathon's History of the Phœni-*

[16] Monasticon Anglicanum, vol. i. p. 370. Bridges's Hist. of Northamptonshire, vol. ii. p. 561.

[17] Kennett's "Register and Chronicle," p. 555.

[18] An engraved portrait of the bishop belongs to this work, the painting of which was presented by Mr. R. Cumberland to Magdalen College, Cambridge. To the library of Trinity College he also gave a copy of the bishop's work, *De Legibus*, interleaved with numerous notes of correction, &c. by his maternal grandfather, Dr. Bentley. The present learned Dean of Peterborough has prepared an ample account of the life and writings of the Doctor, which embraces much valuable and interesting matter on the state of classical literature and learning of the age.

cians." This worthy and amiable prelate lived to the venerable age of eighty-six, and, according to Mr. Cumberland, died easily and calmly in his library chair, with a book in his hand, October 9, 1718, and was buried in the new building east of the choir, where an inscription on a marble slab records his name and death[19]. According to his own testimony, he was gifted by nature with *good wearing parts;* and, according to the judgment of his great grandson, "he had no pretension to quick and brilliant talents. His mind was fitted for elaborate and profound researches, as his works more fully testify. In the oriental languages, in mathematics, and even in anatomy, he was deeply learned." The same voluminous author characterises the bishop as a man of great humility, of disinterested sentiments, of truly Christian temper, of benevolent feelings, but restrained in exercising the latter by his limited income. Without a prospect, or even a wish, of promotion, he was quietly settled at his living of All Saints, in Stamford, when he read a paragraph in one of the public papers, announcing his promotion to the See of Peterborough. With some persuasion and difficulty he was persuaded to accept the appointment; but once seated, he diligently and conscientiously devoted his best efforts to the duties of his station, and even "resisted every offer of translation." He had a sweetness and placidity of temper that nothing ever ruffled or disturbed. Besides the fragment already noticed, written against papal idolatry, he was author of a volume entitled "*De Legibus Naturæ Disquisitio Philosophica,*" which was levelled against the free principles of Hobbes[20]. "An Essay towards the recovery of Jewish Weights and Measures," was written by him, and published in, octavo,

[19] Bishop Kennett's account is different. He states, that on October 6, 1718, the venerable prelate "was surprised in his palace with a *hemiplexia*, which affected one side of his face, one arm, and one leg; on the following day he became delirious, and on the next expired." MS. addition to Gunton's History in the archives of the dean and chapter.

[20] This work first appeared in London, folio, 1672; again in 4to. Francf. 1683. It was abridged in English by T. Tyrrell, 8vo. London, 1692; and was next printed in English, with an introduction by J. Maxwell, London, 4to. 1727. The work was again translated and published with copious explanatory notes, by the Rev. John Travers, 4to. Dublin, 1750. Barbeyrac translated it into French, which was published at Amsterdam in 4to. 1744.

1685, in 1686, and again in 1699. He was also author of "*Origines Gentium Antiquissimæ*;" or, "Attempts for discovering the Times of the first Planting of Nations," London, 8vo. 1724.

White Kennett, D. D. after being Dean of the Cathedral eleven years, was advanced to the bishop's chair in November, 1718. Of this distinguished prelate, antiquary, and historian, I will venture to sketch a more extended memoir than has been appropriated to any one of his predecessors: for his life and writings have rendered his name and memory at once popular and estimable. He was born at Dover, August 10, 1660, and at an early age sent to Westminster School[21]. He was next entered of Edmund Hall, Oxford, in 1684, as "a battler or semi-commoner;" became Vicar of Ambrosden, in Oxfordshire; was promoted to the Rectory of Shottesbrooke, Berks, in 1693; and thence advanced to the Deanery of Peterborough, and was installed there the 24th of February, 1707-8. His literary productions are numerous, and of varied degrees of merit; but all manifest zeal, assiduity, and integrity of principle. The manuscripts which he left behind are even more extensive than his printed writings: evincing unwearied industry, and a fondness for transcribing and committing to paper, which was at once a habit and a pleasure. His character is thus portrayed by his biographer, Mr. Newton, "He was a man of incredible diligence and application, not only in his youth, but to the very last. The whole disposal of himself was to perpetual industry and service. There was not a minute of the day he left vacant. His disposition was easy and gentle; his behaviour affable and courteous. He was accessible and communicative; a true friend, as well as an admirable pattern to the younger clergy,—always ready to direct them in their studies. The frowns

[21] There are some strange discrepancies of statement by different biographers on this subject: one says he "was sent to Westminster School with a view of getting upon the foundation; but being seized with the small-pox at the time of the election, it was thought advisable to take him away." (Chalmers.) Another account is, that he "received the early part of his education in the country, and made such progress in classical learning, that upon his being removed to Westminster, he was admitted into the upper school." (Rees's Cyclopædia.) The most probable statement will be found in "The Life of Dr. White Kennett," 8vo. 1730. (By the Rev. W. Newton.)

of great men in power could no more awe him than popular clamour could shake his stedfastness. He was too plain a man for the present mode, which made him once say to a friend, that he should never make a *good court bishop*. He was disposed rather to *serve* great men than to *court* them." At a very early period he commenced his literary career. Mr. Allum, his tutor at college, "took a particular pleasure in imposing exercises on him, which he would often read in the common room with great approbation[22]." The same preceptor also urged him to translate "*Moriæ Encomium*," which he did under the title of "A Panegyric upon Folly;" he next translated the Life of *Chabrias*, from Cornelius Nepos; afterwards the Panegyric of Pliny upon Trajan, applied to King James. Associating with Antony Wood, he was employed in collecting epitaphs and notices of Oxford men for the "Athenæ," and this most likely was the origin and inducement for prosecuting that line of research and of writing which distinguished him through life. As early as 1680 he commenced a political writer, which then, as now, was and is calculated to involve an author in personal squabbles and animosity. Kennett, under the title of "A Letter from a Student at Oxford to a Friend in the Country, concerning the approaching Parliament, in Vindication of his Majesty, the Church of England, and the University," octavo, provoked the enmity of the Whigs, who threatened to impeach him in parliament.

It would be incompatible with the scope and object of this work to trace the progress, and describe the characteristics of Bishop Kennett's numerous published writings, and more particularly those of a political and controversial nature. It may be noticed that he engaged zealously in opposing the arguments, &c. of the high-church champion, Atterbury, respecting the history and rights of the convocation. His works of an historical and antiquarian class are different: these are not ephemeral, or even local, but belong to all times and all generations. By the following list we may at once pronounce on the industry and usefulness of their author.

[22] Chalmers's "General Biographical Dictionary," vol. xix. p. 305.

1. "Life of Mr. *William Somner*," the Kentish Antiquary, prefixed to his "*Roman Ports and Forts*," 8vo. 1693. 2. "*Parochial Antiquities*, attempted in the History of Ambrosden, Burcester, and other adjacent Parts in the Counties of Oxford and Bucks; with a Glossary, explaining obsolete Words and Phrases," 4to. 1695-6. This work was republished, with large additions from the author's MS. notes, under the editorship of the Rev. B. Bandinel, of New College, Oxford, two vols. 4to. 1818, and may be regarded as a topographical work of great value and interest. (I have a copy of the first edition, with a mass of MS. additions and corrections by the author.) 3. "*Ecclesiastical Synods* and Parliamentary Convocations of the Church of England; historically and justly vindicated from the Misrepresentations of Mr. Atterbury," 8vo. 1701. 4. "*Occasional Letter* on the Subject of English Convocations," 8vo. 1701. 5. "*The present State of Convocation*, in a Letter concerning the Proceedings of several late Sessions," 4to. 1702. 6. "*The Case of Impropriations*, and of the Augmentation of Vicarages, and other insufficient Cures, stated by History and Law," &c. 8vo. 1704. 7. "*A complete History of England*," three vols. folio, 1706; second edition corrected, with additions to the third volume, 1719. This latter volume, only, is the work of Kennett, who, in "an address to the reader," has the following honest remarks:—"The person who draws this new prospect is not so delighted with it as to value the performance; he did it for his own diversion, rather than for the satisfaction of the world. For he knows that of all things History is least understood by the generality of mankind; and, what is very strange, people are for the most part least able to judge of the history of their own times:—they have imperfect remembrances,—they have confused notions,—they have a partiality to one side, and a prejudice to another,—they have their presumptions and their conjectures, and, like some distempered heads, have a sight so uncertain, that it deceives them more than blindness itself could do. For this reason no prudent writer would set a name to the history of his own times; for it is impossible to please, or to be thought impartial, till posterity find out his plain and honest dealing. The writer's intention is to hold an even balance,

and let nothing turn it but truth and justice[23]." This volume embraces accounts of the lives and reigns of Charles I. Charles II. James II. King William and Queen Mary, and King William III., all "new writ by a learned and impartial hand." 8. "*A Register and Chronicle*, ecclesiastical and civil: containing Matters of Fact, delivered in the Words of the most authentic Books, Papers, Records," &c. two vols. folio, 1728.

Although this list is voluminous, and serves to mark the leading character of the man, we must not omit to notice his liberality and true Christian zeal, in presenting a large collection of books, pamphlets, and papers, to "the Society for Propagating the Gospel in the English Colonies;" and of these he printed a catalogue in 4to. 1713, with "an incomparable preface,—a true copy of the writer's great and generous mind[24]."

The forming of this collection led him to make another, which was to be regarded as "*An Antiquarian and Historical Library for a Cathedral Church.*" It appears that one was accordingly formed, and deposited in his own Cathedral. According to the statement of his biographer, "This collection, amounting to about fifteen hundred volumes and small tracts, was placed in a private room at Peterborough, in order to be duly supplied and augmented, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Joseph Sparke, a member of that Church, of very good literature, and very able to assist in that good design." It is now annexed to the library of the Dean and Chapter, and deposited in the room over the west-porch of the Cathedral. "There is a large written catalogue thus inscribed:—'*Index Librorum aliquot Vestustorum, quos in commune bonum congessit W. K. Decan. Petriburg. MDCCXII.*' In this collection there are most of the principal legends of saints; the oldest rituals and liturgies; the first printed statutes and laws; the most ancient homilies and sermons; the first edition of the English schoolmen, postillers, expounders, &c.; with a great many fragments of our ancient language, usage, customs, rights, tenures, and such other things as tend to illustrate the antiquities and history of Great Britain and Ireland, and the successive state of civil government, religion, and learning in them. Besides this, the Dean enriched the common Library of the Church with some very useful

[23] Preface to "The Complete History." [24] Life of Dr. White Kennett, p. 148.

books; and added to their stock of muniments and records, an abstract of the collections made by Dr. John Cosin, one of his worthy predecessors[25]."

This respectable and highly meritorious Prelate, after a long and useful life, died on the 19th of December, 1728, at his house in St. James's Street, Westminster; and his remains were conveyed to, and interred in the Cathedral.

Robert Clavering, D. D. was translated from Landaff to Peterborough, in January, 1728-9, and was allowed to hold the rectory of Mersh-Gibbon, in Buckinghamshire, along with the canonry of Christ Church, in commendam. He presided here till July, 1747, when dying, he was buried near the altar rails of his Cathedral, and was succeeded by

John Thomas, D. D. who was one of the canons residentiary of St. Paul's, London, and a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. After governing this See ten years, he was promoted to that of Sarum in 1757, and thence to Winchester in 1761. He was preceptor to his late Majesty, and hence his promotions in the church. During his stay at Peterborough, a literary and antiquarian association, under the name of "the Gentleman's Society[26]," was

[25] "Life of Dr. Kennett," p. 149. On a blue slab behind the altar is the following inscription:

Sacri
Sub Hoc Marmore
Conduntur Cineres
Reverendi in Christo Patris
White Kennett, S.T.P.
Ecclesiæ Hujus Cathedralis
Sancti Petri de Burgo
Episcopi
A. D.—M DCC XXVIII. Ætatis LXVIII.
Etiam depositæ sunt reliquiæ filii et nepotis
White fil. hujus ecclesiæ Præbend.
Obiit 6 Maii, 1740, White Nepos obiit infans.

[26] The Rev. Joseph Sparke, registrar of this cathedral, was an active promoter and supporter of this society. He prevailed on Bishop Clavering to lend the room over "the Saxon Gate-house," as it was called, for the meetings, and to hold the books; but the prelate does not appear to have patronised the society. Dean Thomas was however its president for some time. The Rev. Dr. Neve, in a letter to the Rev. Littleton Brown, dated July, 1741, states that the members met every Wednesday evening, and that the society consisted of twenty regular and about one hundred honorary members. Each member, on admission, presented a book of about one guinea value, and Earl Fitzwilliam gave Rymer's Fœdera. This society, like many others,

formed there, chiefly by and under the secretaryship of the Rev. Timothy Neve, who was a schoolmaster at Spalding, and also secretary to "the Gentleman's Society" in that town. A spirit of competition, or rivalry, prevailed at that time, in the formation of such institutions; and we find that, besides the chief, or head, at London, called "The Society of Antiquaries," there were others at Spalding, Stamford, Doncaster, Wisbeach, Lincoln, Worcester, and Dublin.

Richard Terrick, D. D. was consecrated bishop of this See in July, 1757. Early in life he was made fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, and progres-

appears to have gradually declined, and ultimately broke up soon after the decease of its active and zealous founders; for although Neve, Sparke, Maurice Johnson, Dr. Stukeley, and a few other persons of congenial dispositions felt a pleasure and deep interest in antiquarian studies, and in the interchange of literary conversation, others preferred "the pipe and pot," and these overpowered the former in number and influence. Among other communications to the society, were accounts of a Roman Mint at Lincoln, by M. Johnson, jun.: an old grant of a right of fishery in Whittlesea-mere, to the abbot of Peterborough, in the time of Henry the Sixth: a list of members of parliament for Peterborough, from 1546 to the (then) present time. Mr. Neve says "we can now amuse ourselves with something better than merely to smoke a pipe and drink a bottle." See many particulars of these societies in "*Reliquiæ Galeanæ,*" forming part of "Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica," No. II. 4to. 1781. Mr. Sparke was editor of "*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores varii e codicibus Manuscriptis, nunc primum editi.*" London, folio, 1723. This volume, which is very scarce, contains the following articles, not given in any other publication. "Chronicon Angliæ, per Johannem, Abbatem Burgi S. Petri. Iste liber pertinet ad Monasterium de Burgo S. Petri, A. D. DCLIV.: contino per Robertum de Boston," to MCCCLXXIII. "Vitâ Sancti Thomæ Cantuariensis Archieopiscopi, a Willielmo, filio Stephanide Johanne Sarisburiensi Episcopi canotensi et aliis auctoribus coetaneis conscripta.—Roberti Swaphani, Historiæ Cœnobii Burgensis.—Walteri de Whitlesey, Historia Cœnobia Burgensis.—Continuatio per Anonymum.—Abbas Adam de Botheby.—Historiæ Vetus Cœnobii Petriburgensis, Versibus Gallicanis." This work is paged and divided into two thin volumes: at page 94 is a print of the arms of seventeen abbots, and in another part is an engraved fac-simile of an illuminated page of Walter de Whittlesey's MSS.

Mr. Sparke had prepared a continuation of the above work, to contain Whittlesey's *Life of Hereward;* and had engraved the arms of the knights, whose fiefs were instituted hy Abbot Thorold: but died in 1748, and was buried at Peterborough, where the following epitaph was inscribed on his tomb:—

"Josephus Sparke, M. A.
Ob. 20 Julii, 1748, æt. 57.
Rebecca, Josephi Sparke, M. A.
Uxor, ob. 27 Martii, 1747, æt. 56.

sively promoted to be canon of Windsor, vicar of Twickenham in Middlesex, and canon residentiary of St. Paul's, London, to which See he was ultimately promoted in 1764, on the death of Bishop Osbaldeston. He died after presiding there three years.

Robert Lamb, D. D. who was dean of Peterborough, on Terrick's promotion to London, was preferred to the bishoprick in 1764, and dying in 1769, was succeeded by

John Hinchcliffe, D. D. who exhibits, in his own life, one of those examples of fortunate promotion from the lower ranks of society to the higher, which at once distinguish this free country and dignify its annals. The son of a stable-keeper in Swallow Street, London, he was early placed at Westminster School, and thence elected to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1750, where he obtained a fellowship. After being employed as usher in his old school, and morning preacher in South Audley Chapel, he accompanied Mr. Crewe, of Cheshire, on a continental tour, and secured the permanent friendship and patronage of that gentleman, who not only settled on him three hundred pounds a year, but introduced him to the duke of Grafton. To this nobleman, and to his first friend, he was indebted for future advancement in life. Marrying a sister of Mr. Crewe, he obtained with her a fortune of fifteen thousand pounds. He was chosen head master of Westminster School in 1764, but retained that station less than a year. In 1768 he was appointed by the King, master of Trinity College, Cambridge, at the recommendation of the duke of Grafton; and in the following year he became bishop of Peterborough. These instances of successful advancement seem to have been fully merited, for Dr. Hinchcliffe was learned, assiduous in his duties, obliging in his manners, and honest and sincere in his religious and political principles. The Bishop was appointed in 1789 to the valuable deanery of Durham, at the same time resigning the mastership of Trinity College. Having presided here nearly twenty-five years, he died at his palace, January 11, 1794, aged sixty-two, and was buried in the Cathedral[27]. Two years after his death a volume of his

[27] See a memoir of this Prelate in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lxiv. 1794.

Sermons was published, but failed to afford that satisfaction which they had previously given when preached by himself.

Spencer Madan, D. D. was educated at Westminster School, and Trinity College, Cambridge, and was elected fellow of that college in 1750. He was made prebendary of this Cathedral in 1770; and in 1793 was enthroned bishop of Bristol; from which See he was advanced to this of Peterborough, on the death of Bishop Hinchcliffe, and presided here above nineteen years. Dying, November 8, 1813, at the age of eighty-five, he was interred at the east end of his Cathedral; and was succeeded by

John Parsons, D. D. He was a native of Oxford, where he was born July 6, 1761; and after a scholastic education in the school belonging to the Cathedral, was removed to Magdalen College, and thence to that of Wadham, of which he became fellow in 1785. His first appointment in the church was to the livings of All Saints and St. Leonards, Colchester. In 1798 he returned to Oxford, on being chosen master of Baliol College, and was soon afterwards made vice-chancellor. He next had the deanery of Bristol conferred on him by the Crown; and on the 12th of December, 1813, was consecrated bishop of this See. After presiding here till March 12, 1819, he died at his lodgings in Baliol College, Oxford, where his remains were interred[28]. The Rev. Edward Patterson, in a letter to the right honourable Sir William Scott, has given an interesting, but brief sketch of the character of his deceased friend, the bishop of Peterborough, from which the following sentence may appositely close this short notice: "In him his college has lost a second founder; the university a reformer of its abuses, a strict enforcer of its discipline, an able champion of its privileges, and a main pillar of its reputation; the public charities a liberal contributor and a powerful advocate; the church of England a conscientious professor of its doctrines, and a temperate, but firm defender of its rights; the house of peers a discerning, upright, and active senator; and the nation at large a true, loyal, and sober patriot[29]."

[28] In the chapel of his college is a monument to his memory, and in the hall is a portrait of him.

[29] "Annual Biography and Obituary," 8vo. 1820.

Herbert Marsh, D. D. Margaret professor of divinity in the University of Cambridge, was advanced to this See as a compliment and reward for his zealous literary exertions in the cause of England against France, and of Protestantism against Romanism. This learned professor and prelate is author of several volumes on these subjects, and has consequently involved himself in controversy[30]. As a proof of the Right Honourable William Pitt's approval of Mr. Marsh's "History of the Politics of Great Britain and France[31]," he settled on the author five hundred pounds a year.—Patronized by the Earl of Liverpool, he was first made bishop of Llandaff in 1816, and thence advanced to Peterborough in 1819. On the last appointment his pension ceased.

However gratifying it would be to my own feelings to give a brief memoir of his lordship's literary productions, I find it incompatible with the limits and intentions of this brief History of Peterborough Cathedral; and they are too numerous, too much involved in controversial points of theology and politics, to allow the task to be accomplished in a small space, and without a careful examination of all the opposed writings.

[30] A list of his lordship's works is given in Watt's "Bibliotheca Britannica," vol. ii.

[31] This work was first written in German, and translated by the author into English, two vols. 8vo. 1799. William Belsham having written a reply, in the way of "Remarks," Mr. Marsh was induced to take up his pen in a defence, which he published in 8vo. 1821.

Chap. III.

HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNTS OF THE BUILDING, AND ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ONCE MONASTIC AND NOW CATHEDRAL CHURCH, WITH REFERENCES TO THE ACCOMPANYING ENGRAVINGS.

It is a curious, as well as singular fact, that although a folio volume has been expressly devoted to "the History of the *Church of Peterburgh*," the result of the studies and reflections of two clergymen attached to the foundation, scarcely any thing is recorded of a descriptive nature, and very little of the history of the edifice,—as if these subjects were unworthy of notice, or comment. That a building of such a size and of such importance demanded the especial attention of a local historian, will not be questioned in the present age; nor could it now be passed over with impunity; for at this time the antiquary, the scholar, and the man of science would join in requiring some information on the arts and sciences of our ancestors, as well as respecting their political and ecclesiastical history. It is at least as essential an object in the annals of mankind, as any of the petty wars of petty kings, the jealousies and quarrels of the religious orders, or the struggles between military barons and cloistered monks. These subjects, however, seem to have engrossed the chief attention of the first chroniclers; and these also occupy the pages, as they did the minds of the early historians. Matthew Paris and William of Malmesbury have transmitted a few facts respecting the great buildings which were erected by the monks; and Gervase of Canterbury, who was a witness to the splendid works carrying on in the Cathedral of that city, at the latter end of the twelfth century, has furnished us with some very interesting architectural information.

Before Bentham's time, who published his History of Ely in 1771, scarcely any topographer or antiquary deemed it necessary to enter into the history of an edifice, or to characterise its design and architectural features. That respectable author, influenced probably by his associations with Gray, the poet, (who was partial to the subject), Cole the antiquary, and Essex the architect, commenced this task, and executed it with much judgment and discrimination[1]. Bentham pointed out a new source of rational inquiry and study, which has been diligently and ably pursued by several other antiquaries, aided by the illustrations of skilful artists; and their united productions have invested the subject with interest and importance. Though much has been done, and a great mass of scattered facts and varied information have been given to the public, we are continually making new discoveries, and eliciting new lights, which at once serve to stimulate and reward inquiry. Aided by these, it will be a pleasing and useful task to extract from the whole a luminous and philosophical history of the ecclesiastical architecture and arts of the middle ages. In previous pages will be found some notices respecting the times when different parts of the Church, &c. were erected; but it will now be necessary to bring these together, and endeavour to show the dates, and characteristic features of the whole edifice. If our evidence be not so full and conclusive as could be wished, it must be remembered that the archives of Peterborough Monastery were subject to the stupid and wanton destruction of Danish plunderers, and again to the fanatic and

[1] The following passage from Mr. Bentham's preface, explains his reasons for introducing the subject, and also shows that he was doubtful as to the propriety of introducing it.—"As my subject naturally led me to consider the particular modes of building used in this Church and Monastery, I have ventured to enlarge my reflections on that head by some general observations and inquiries into the state of Architecture at different periods. To some persons, perhaps, these reflections may appear of no great importance, or rather foreign to the main purpose, whilst others may view them in a very different light. I cannot help thinking that the history of what is called *Gothic* Architecture in this kingdom; its origin, progress, and state in different periods and ages, must afford an agreeable and useful entertainment to every curious and inquisitive mind; and I am apt to flatter myself, that the notices I have given, and the quotations I have made from our best and most antient historians, and other occasional writers relative to it, may be of use to such as may hereafter have occasion to make further inquiries into a subject, that is at present somewhat obscure, as having never yet been professedly treated of."

frantic enthusiasts of the Cromwellian forces. Each of these seemed to take a pleasure in mutilating or destroying every thing which did not administer to their immediate prejudices or avarice. Knowledge was hateful to them,—"ignorance was bliss."

That Peterborough Cathedral is a truly *Norman*[2] specimen of architecture few dispassionate and impartial persons will venture to deny, or even to doubt. It is true that a Monastery was founded here in 655, by Peada, as already shown; and that a Church was either built or commenced at that time, we may be assured, from the marvellous relation of Hedda, in Swapham's MSS., and of Hugo Candidus[3], the latter of whom says he saw the large stones which had been laid in the foundations. According to the latter writer these blocks were so large, "that eight yoke of oxen could scarce draw one of them[4]." Whatever was the size or character of the building then raised, it is recorded that the whole was reduced to ruin by fire in 870; and that other fires occurred, and wanton ravages were committed, in 966, 1013, 1069, and in 1117. In the latter year it is related that the conflagration continued for nine days, when "a furious wind arising blew the fire and live coals upon the abbot's house[5]." A *new Church* was commenced on the eighth of the ides of March, 1117, by Abbot John de

[2] I cannot consent to discontinue this phrase, although it offends certain critics, who manifest more prejudice than discrimination in their reprobatory animadversions. That the Normans not only employed a peculiar style and character in the buildings of their own province, and in England, after they possessed this country, is sufficiently proved by history, by the older edifices still remaining, and by the admission of the best informed antiquaries. It seems to me therefore absurd, as well as false, to say there is no Norman architecture—that the term is misapplied,—that the Normans were incompetent either to invent a novelty in art, or improve upon any thing of their Saxon predecessors. The instance of the building before us, which is said by its monastic historians to have been raised between the years 1117 and 1250, is sufficient evidence to confute the reasoning, or rather dogmatic assertions, of those who wish to exalt the Saxons by depreciating the Normans: and we have still a stronger confutation of this theory in the style and general character of the Trinity Chapel at Canterbury, the history of which is well authenticated and generally credited. That it is a novelty and great beauty in architecture can only be disputed by those who are blinded by prejudice, or influenced by obstinacy and bad taste.

[3] Patrick, in Supplement to Gunton's History, &c. p. 228 and 229.

[4] Gunton's History of Peterb. &c. p. 2.

[5] Patrick's Supplement, p. 273.

Sais, or Seez, a Norman[6]; but it is not mentioned what part of the building was raised during his abbacy. We must conclude, therefore, that agreeably to the general, if not universal practice, the first part erected was the eastern, or *altar end of the choir;* and we learn from the authority already quoted, that the *chancel* was finished by Martin de Vecti, 1140[7]. The transept, three stories of the tower, and Thomas à Becket's Chapel, were built by William de Waterville, after 1160, during his abbacy[8]. The same person also founded the Chapel of St. Nicholas, at the western gate, and raised the upper part of that Gate-house, as already noticed in page 20. We have also seen, in the same page, that *Abbot Benedict* carried on the works which were commenced by his predecessor, and that he likewise began others. Gunton observes, that not pleased with the *Nave* of the church[9], "he built it after a better manner, from the lantern to the porch, as it now is;" that he finished Becket's Chapel,—"built a large and goodly house of stone, for several officers, which was standing in our age,—erected the great gate leading to the Monastery, and *over* it the Chapel of St. Nicholas, both which are yet standing[10]." Dean Patrick corrects an error which Gunton committed respecting Becket's Chapel, by showing that it was at the western gateway, and not between the arches of the west front of the church. The MS. Chronicle of Abbot John explicitly states, "Ad an. MCLXXV Solomon Prior Eliensis factus est Abbas Thorneyensis, et Benedictus Prior Cantuariensis factus est Abbas Burgi. Qui fecit construere

[6] Patrick's Supplement, p. 272.

[7] According to Dean Kipling the *choir* "was begun upon in the year 1117 and finished in 1139." Epitome, p. 32.

[8] Dean Kipling says "the *cross ailes*, or *transepts*, were built between the years 1155 and 1175." Epitome, p. 32.

[9] History of Peterburgh, p. 26. The same author, and also Governor Pownall, Archæologia, vol. ix. p. 146 and 150, ascribes the "*painted ceiling* at the top," as it now is, to Benedict; but this is not likely. It was neither the fashion of the times, nor consonant to such a noble style of building as the nave of this church, to be surmounted by a flat, boarded, painted ceiling. According to the late Dean the *nave* was built between the years 1177 and 1193.

[10] The Chapel of St. Nicholas appears to be on the northern side of the gateway, not over it, as stated by most writers, and as also inadvertently mentioned in a previous page, 29.

totam *navem* Ecclesiæ Burgi ex lapide et ligno a turri usque ad frontem; et ex capellam in honorem sancti Thomæ Martyris ad Portam Monasterii." Patrick, from Swapham, also states that he began "that wonderful work *juxta bracinum*[11]," but did not live to finish it.

The buildings and architectural improvements which were added to the Monastery and Church by *Robert de Lyndesey*, when prior, entitle him to particular notice and commendation. It seems that before his time (1214) the *windows* of the Church "were stuffed with reed and straw;" and that he filled thirty of them with *glass*[12]: he also made one window in the *regulare locutorium*, another in the chapter-house, one in the dormitory, and three in the Chapel of St. Nicholas. Besides this general glazing, he augmented the dormitory, and built some private chambers and a larder. He made a new "inward gate," and stables for the abbot's horses, the *vivarium* near the churchyard, and built halls at Collingham and Stowe, a chapel at Kettering, and several other appendages to the abbot's manors, and to the churches attached to the Abbey.

Martin de Vecti built a *gate-house* to the Monastery after 1133, but Gunton says he cannot tell which. The same author also asserts that De Vecti was a "great builder, and was industriously occupied during his twenty-two years' abbacy in repairing and perfecting the buildings."

Between 1233 and 1246 many architectural alterations were made in the Monastery by *Walter de St. Edmunds*, who, Patrick asserts, "applied himself to enlarge both the buildings and revenues of the Church." It is not stated that he made any additions to the Church itself, although it was newly dedicated in his time. The buildings raised by him were a new

[11] This word occurs in the Will of Rotheram, archbishop of York, in 1498.—"Volo quod caro mea, corpus meum putridum sepeliatur in *Brachio* boriali capella S. Mariæ in ecclesiæ mea Eboracensi, ubi feci tubulum marmoreum. See Ducange, "Glossarium ad Scriptores," &c.

[12] That the windows of such a building should have remained unglazed from the finishing of the choir to this time, nearly one hundred years, must excite surprise; for we know that as early as A. D. 675 Benedict Biscopius had introduced glass into England, which was previously unknown here; and that Wilfrid, bishop of York, glazed the windows of the church of St. Andrew at Hexham, as well as of other churches. See Bentham's History, &c. of Ely Cathedral.

entrance to the refectory, and other appendages to his palace, as well as a *bovarium* at the Abbey, and another at Castor.

The building of that splendid and original design, the *western front,* with its three lofty and elegant arches, its ornamented gables, numerous pinnacles and spires, is not pointed out by the monkish chroniclers; nor does Mr. Gunton, or Dean Patrick make any efforts to ascertain its origin and history. Dean Kipling thinks that the "transepts, at the west end of the nave, were raised in Abbot Walter's reign," (i. e. between 1233 and 1246); and assigns as a reason, that in 1237 a council was held in London, when it was ordered that all English Churches, then completed, should be consecrated within two years, and that this was newly consecrated "by the bishop of Lincoln in 1238." According to a notice in the MS. of Abbot John this ceremony was performed by two bishops in 1237. "*An. MCCXXXVII quarto nonarum Octobris, dedicata est ecclesia de Burgo, a duobus episcopis, viz. a Sancto Roberto Lincolniensi et Exoniensi episcopis*[13]." In the absence of all documentary evidence on this subject, I must venture to refer this interesting feature of the Church to the times of Acharius and Robert de Lindesey, whose united government extended from 1200 to 1222. It is evident that the former abbot was devoted to the interests of his Monastery, being eminent, according to Dean Patrick, for "order, honesty, kindness, and bounty." The good deeds of Lyndesey are fully detailed by the Dean, but the western front is not noticed as any part of his works; and it may be safely inferred that the introduction of the new, or pointed style, and the continuation of the building, from the western end of the nave to the finishing of the whole front, occupied several years.

"That goodly edifice called the *Infirmary,*" and the chapel at the west end, dedicated to St. Lawrence, were, according to Gunton, the works of *John de Caleto,* or Calcato, who presided here from 1248 to 1261.

The *Lady Chapel* on the north side of the choir, with an entrance from

[13] The bishop of Exeter at that time was William Brewer, and the prelate of Lincoln was Robert Grosthead, or Grosseteste, highly celebrated for his learning, and for his resistance to the power of Rome, of whom Pegge has published an interesting memoir, 4to. 1793.

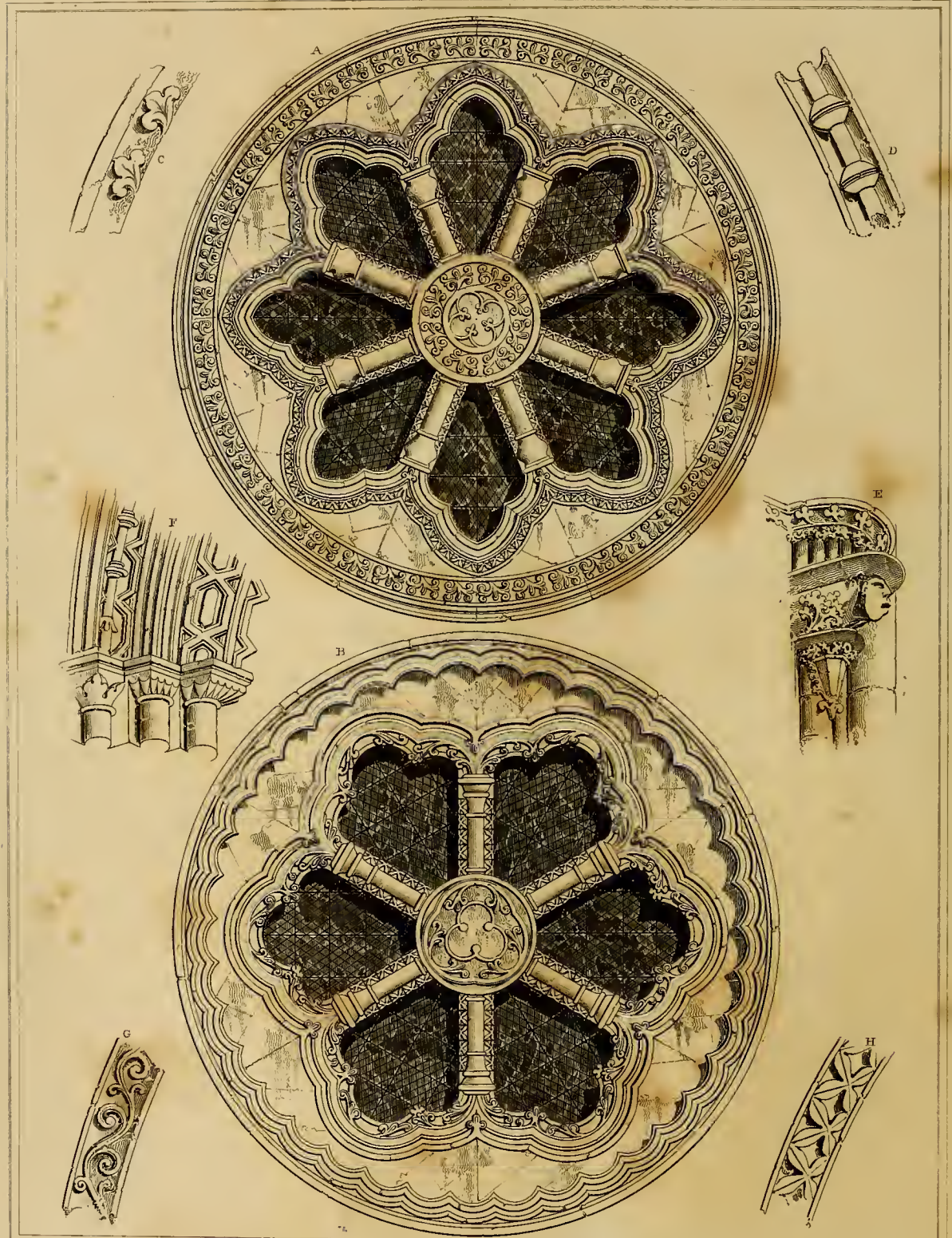
Drawn by F. Williams, from a Sketch by R. Cattermole. Engraved by R. Sands.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

WEST FRONT.

To the very Reverend JAMES HENRY MONK, D.D. Dean of Peterborough, late Prof.r of Greek in the University of Cambridge, &c. &c.
this plate is inscribed by the AUTHOR.

London. Published June 1.1827. by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row. Printed by Baynard.



Drawn & Measured by E.Blore, Arch.t

Engraved by J.Le Keux.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

CIRCULAR WINDOWS, & DETAILS. WEST FRONT.

Printed by Bernard

London, Published June 1.1822 by Longman, & Co. Paternoster Row.

Drawn by W. Bartlett. from a Sketch by R. Cattermole.

Engraved by J. Le Keux.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

EAST END.

To the RIGHT REVᵈ HERBERT MARSH, D.D. *LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH*; this plate is respectfully inscribed by the AUTHOR.

London. Published Janʸ 1. 1827; by Longman & Cᵒ Paternoster Row.

Printed by Hayward

the aile, was wholly erected by William Paris, prior, during the abbacy of Richard de London, who presided here from 1274 to 1296. This abbot is said to have erected the "*great steeple* wherein the bells hung," two of which were called "*les Londres.*" It is difficult to account for the discrepancies we meet with in the statements of different writers: we find that John de Caleto, the previous abbot to de London, gave "a great bell to the Church," with his name inscribed on it; and this would not be likely to have been done had there not been a tower to receive it[14].

The *central porch*, or *chapel*, in the middle arch of the west front, is not only an anomaly in the design, but its origin, purpose, and utility, have occasioned much doubt as well as differences of opinion. Dean Kipling admits that he "can say nothing with certainty (on the subject), except that Mr. Gunton's account of it is throughout erroneous[15]." From its style of architecture, and its analogy to the filling in of the aile windows, and of many other windows, we are justified in attributing the whole to the end of the thirteenth, or beginning of the fourteenth century, when some considerable alterations must have taken place in the Church. Godfrey de Croyland, who presided here from 1299 to 1321, according to Gunton, "was a great builder, adding much to his Monastery, but we cannot say which, for they are long since demolished, only the *great gate-house*, over which was the chamber called the knight's chamber, is yet standing[16]."

The next important feature in the buildings of the Church is the chapel, or *chapels at the east end*, which we have already seen (page 26) was commenced by *Richard Ashton*, about 1440, and finished by *Abbot Kirton*, about 1500. The monograms and initials of both abbots appear in different parts of the building. On the *Gateway* of entrance to the *deanery* is a monogram of a kirk, or church and a tun, with initials and arms plainly indicating that it was raised by Abbot Kirton, or Kirkton.

[14] In the time of Henry VIII. his commissioners report that "in the two steeples at the front, bells, ten:" whence it is evident that both towers were then furnished with bells, although that on the southern side is not only deprived of them, but is reduced in height.

[15] Epitome, p. 33.

[16] History, &c. of Peterburgh, p. 40.

Such are the historical dates recorded of the buildings, and these are certainly important and interesting. Without such evidence few architectural antiquaries would be inclined to consider the age of the nave so late as 1180, as it is generally believed that the pointed style was commonly adopted at that time. Beneath the great lantern-tower we find two pointed arches employed; and it appears that this part of the Church preceded the nave in date.

It now remains to point out to the stranger and general reader the principal features and architectural members of the building; and this will be rendered easy to the writer, and familiar to the reader, by the aid of the accompauying illustrations. The Cathedral of Peterborough, though seated in a completely flat country, where scarcely an inequality of surface is perceptible for some miles in extent, is a conspicuous object from every road of approach to the city. The clustered spires and pinnacles at the west end, and the lantern tower of the centre, are seen towering above, and mixing with the houses and the umbrageous scenery of the place, and serve to indicate the architectural magnitude and character of the edifice, as well as the ecclesiastical establishment of a city. From different stations to the west, the more elevated parts of the building may be said to form the most pleasing and picturesque group; as the central tower seems to combine with the various pediments and spire-pinnacles of the front. At other points from the south-west and north-east, the artist will find some interesting compositions, in which the whole building rises boldly and unites pleasingly with the various forms of trees which abound in this prolific soil. The prospect of the Cathedral and city from the meadows to the south-west[17] is not regarded so picturesque as it appears more to the westward, where the whole groups better, and where there are several trees to aid and improve the composition. It must be admitted, however, that neither the Cathedral, nor the city of Peterborough, can rank high in the scale of picturesque beauty. Even on closer examinations, and after surveying

[17] An engraving from this point has lately been published in Robson's "*Picturesque Views of the English Cities.*"

Drawn by W.H.Bartlett. Engraved by J.Le Keux.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

STEEPLE, PINNACLES &c. OF THE SOUTH WESTERN TOWER.

To EDWARD BLORE ESQ^R *ARCHITECT*, this plate is inscribed by his old & sincere friend

J. BRITTON.

Printed by Barnett & Son.

London. Published March 1.1828, by Longman & C^o Paternoster Row.

Drawn by Wm Bartlett. Engraved by J Le Keux

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

CENTRAL PEDIMENT OF THE WEST FRONT.

To the Venerable Wm STRONG, D.D. *ARCHDEACON OF NORTHAMPTON*, this plate is inscribed by the AUTHOR.

Printed by Harvard

London, Published Feb.1, 1827, by Longman & Co Paternoster Row

Drawn by G. Cattermole. Engraved by J. Le Keux

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

VIEW OF THE LIBRARY, WEST FRONT.

To SPENCER MADAN, D.D. Chancellor of the Diocese &c. this plate is inscribed by
THE AUTHOR

Printed by Hayward.

London, Published June 1 1823, by Longman & Co Paternoster Row

the whole exterior of the Church, we find that plainness, simplicity, and grandeur are its marked characteristics. Every part of the building may be readily and easily viewed by the stranger; and in this respect its situation is unlike any other Cathedral in England, but that of Lichfield. The whole edifice, excepting the end of the southern transept, is insulated, unobstructed, and unincumbered by extraneous buildings. There the gardens and walls of one of the prebendal houses abut on, and shut out the lower part of this member of the Church; but it is likely that even this will be removed in the course of the great improvements now in progress. To the present Dean and Chapter the inhabitants of the city are certainly much indebted: every approach to the Cathedral, as well as the cemetery and courts around it, are laid out with the greatest attention to personal comforts, and to pleasing effects. Before the western front is a large square court, with grass plats and gravelled walks: there is a carriage drive in the centre, and three sides are bounded by respectable houses and old trees. To the south is a range of antient buildings, in the midst of which is a fine tower gate-way of entrance to the bishop's palace, whilst to the west is an old tower gate-way, communicating to the city, but separating it from the Cathedral precincts. Abutting on this gateway is the Chapel of St. Nicholas, already referred to, and now used as a school-room. A row of private houses extend from this chapel to the north, whilst an old wall, fronted by a line of fine elm trees, bound that end of the area. At the eastern extremity of this wall is the richly sculptured portal, or gateway of entrance to the deanery, represented in the title-page of this volume. Between this building and the north-west angle of the Cathedral there was formerly an embattled wall, separating the court-yard, already described, from the cemetery, which extends round the north, east, and part of the south sides of the Church. This cemetery abounds with tomb-stones, it having been formerly the only burial place of the citizens. Another piece of ground is now provided at the western extremity of the city; and in this respect, as well as in the manner of laying out and embellishing the old "church-yard," the Dean and Chapter have imitated one of the best practices of the Parisians. Here, as in "Père la Chaise" at Paris, the graves are planted and embellished with

willows, laurels, pines, and various trees, shrubs, and flowers. Thus a scene, which heretofore, like most of the burial grounds of England, was filled with weeds, briars, and other offensive objects, is now pleasing to the eye of the observing stranger, and soothingly delightful to those whose affections and sorrows are associated with objects beneath its turf.

A small square court-yard, on the south side of the nave, extends from the western side of the transept, and occupies the area of the old cloister: (see the *ground plan).* A narrow paved passage continues from this to the south-western angle of the front,—and thus conducts us round the whole building. In attempting to point out to the reader the general architectural features and characteristics of the exterior of the Church, it seems most natural to begin with the chief entrance, or western front, and thence proceed to other parts of the edifice.

West Front.—The magnificent and original *western front of this Church* is not only much admired by all classes of visiters, but is a general theme of comment and praise with men of science and taste. As a composition it possesses both merits and defects; but the former greatly preponderate over the latter. Its extreme outline forms a regular square, and its outer perpendicular lines are nearly straight, without breaks and without graduations. These are certainly not beauties; and in construction also, though it has sustained the "wear and tear" of at least six centuries, and has been sadly neglected at some time, we detect errors which tend to impeach the skill of the architect. The accompanying Engravings, Plates II. III. IV. V. VI. VII. IX. XI. and XII. will amply and clearly illustrate the whole design and forms of this façade; and the following description, within quotation marks, by the *Rev. T. Garbett,* a minor Canon of the Cathedral, will define every part, and explain each peculiar feature[18].

[18] This gentleman having taken considerable pains to make an elaborate drawing of the front, and having for that purpose examined and investigated its whole design and individual parts, is peculiarly qualified for the task of describing it: and whilst I tender him thanks, I cannot withhold my approbation of the judicious and well intentioned Essay which he has published, entitled "A brief Inquiry into the antient and present State of Hereford Cathedral, with an attempt to classify its Architecture, and Suggestions for its Renovation and Improvement," 8vo. 1827.

Engraved by J.Le Keux.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

VIEW OF NORTH WESTERN TOWER & TRANSEPT.

To Rt SPARLING BERRY, ESQ. an admirer & Patron of embellished literature, this plate is inscribed by J. BRITTON.

Printed by Hayward.

London, Published March 1, 1828, by Longman & Co Paternoster Row.

W.H.Bartlett del. J.Le Keux fc.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

VIEW OF THE CHURCH FROM THE N.E.

To HENRY ELLISON ESQ. of BEVERLEY, a patron of embellished literature &c. this plate is inscribed by

J. BRITTON.

Printed by Hayward

London, Published April 1,1828, by Longman & Co Paternoster Row.

"There was, perhaps, little or no interval between the completion of the nave in the *circular* style of architecture, and the erection of the north-west tower, in the *lancet*, or first style of the pointed. The original plan of the front, like that of Lincoln, comprised, no doubt, two towers rising at the western extremity of the side ailes of the nave, having a Norman base with circular lights, and an additional transept, projecting north and south beyond the line of the side ailes. But before this design could be carried into execution, architecture itself had undergone a change; pointed arches were substituted for circular ones, and slender isolated columns for the clustered shaft, or solid cylinder. Hence the difference in style of the tower just referred to: the string-moulding at the base of it, together with the superstructure, and the pinnacles and pediment, which surmount the adjacent transept, being all of a later order than the work of the nave: and hence also the union of both styles in the transept itself,—its lofty arches parallel to the side walls, being highly pointed, but with the zigzag ornament, and resting on Norman shafts; and the door-ways of the front having circular heads, in accommodation to the arches of the nave, but with pointed mouldings and pillars." (These characteristics will be clearly understood by reference to PLATES I. II. V. and XI.)

"The tower, towards the south, appears never to have been finished, although unquestionably included in the architect's design. The present base, above the transept, is of a comparatively modern date, and altogether inferior to the work of the north-west tower. In the progress of great undertakings it not unfrequently happens that fresh objects present themselves to the mind, which at first were not thought of. Such appears to have been the case in respect of this Cathedral, the architect of which, while completing the front, seems to have caught a new idea—that of erecting two lofty turrets beyond the outer angles of the transept, towards the west, and of converting the intermediate space into a sort of piazza, by arches constructed in front of the nave and closed in above by a vaulted roof. This idea, so unique and at the same time so splendid, he was enabled to realise; and posterity, at the distance of six centuries, beholds with ineffable delight and admiration a composition, the outlines and details of which, for their

trefoils, which is continued round the front, the transepts, and the base of the north-west tower, together with the more modern base towards the south. In the fifth stage are four trefoil arches, like those of the second stage: these lie parallel with those at the base of the pediments, already described, and with those also of the side transepts. The sixth stage contains four long and narrow pointed arches, having corbels in the space above, and resting, like the whole series of arches below, on slender isolated columns, with prominent foliated capitals: above these is a string course of rosettes, forming the base of the parapet. Thus far the two turrets are strictly uniform; but in the parapets, by which they are surmounted, and in the pinnacles, which terminate the clustered shafts, there is a marked difference.

"The parapet of the north turret consists of the wave ornament, with double featherings and intersections: the pinnacles at the angles are hexagonal, corbelled at the base of the pyramid with human heads, and finished above with crockets and finials.

"The parapet of the south turret contains a series of quatrefoils, while the pinnacles at the angles are beautifully blended with the clustered shafts, so as to form a regular and continuous course and termination: the mouldings are carried up in high pointed pediments, and from these a cinquefoil arch at each angle, surmounted also by a pediment with a quatrefoil in the spandril, connects them with the spire in the centre, and sustains a lofty triangular pinnacle, which, like the pediments below, is decorated with crockets and a finial. In this respect the south spire differs from the other, which has no connection with the side pinnacles. Both are pierced with pointed windows in two ranges, four in each range, divided by mullions, and crowned with crocketted pediments; and the apex of each is terminated by a finial and cross, included in the extensive repairs carried on by the present Dean and Chapter.

"The style of these spires, with the parapets and pinnacles, marks them out as a later work than the turrets beneath; and we may infer from the similarity of their details to those of the porch, that they formed a part of the repairs and alterations, which the whole front appears to have under-

gone, when that appendage was inserted; and when the central window of the nave was enlarged, and that, and the others which now enliven the inner wall were filled with perpendicular tracery. The porch is vaulted with stone, and is entered by an obtuse arch, over which is an elliptical window, divided by mullions into six lights under cinquefoil arches, which are again subdivided in the head into lesser arches.

"The spandrils formed by the curve of the arch, and the base of the window, are enriched with circles, clasping shields of arms, and rosettes with other devices. The arch and window are bounded by buttresses, which are broken by offsets and empannelled with niches. Beside these, the porch is flanked with staircases, one on each side, forming three parts of an octagon, and leading to an apartment now used as a library. The summit is closed in with an embattled parapet, having a pediment at each end, and one in the centre. The surface of the walls is enriched with canopied niches, pilasters, brackets, panel work, and string courses in all the wildness and profusion which distinguish the last stage of Gothic architecture.

"Besides the arch before mentioned, the porch has two smaller arches, north and south, parallel with the piazza formed by the great arches and piers of the front, and keeping up the communication with its opposite extremities. Over these also are mullioned windows, with blank interstices.

"The great window of the nave, the outer arch of which is obviously an alteration from the original design, is divided by mullions into five lights,—those of the side ailes into three lights, both under cinquefoil arches,—and the lancet window of the transept into two lights, under trefoil arches: these windows are parted, each by an embattled transom into an upper and lower range of lights, and the heads filled with subordinate tracery.

"The door-ways beneath are exceedingly rich, and, in point of execution and delicacy of detail, perhaps the finest portions of the front. The central door-way is divided by a pillar, rising from a carved cylindrical base, into two smaller arches; but the whole design and finish cannot be made out in

consequence of the introduction of the porch, the foundation and butments of which are built against it.

"The arches of the side door-ways are lined with isolated columns, receding in the manner of perspective: the ribbed mouldings between these columns, the interlaced and pendent foliage of the capitals, and the multiplied mouldings of which the arches above are composed, cannot be too closely examined, or too much admired. This is that peculiar style of Gothic Architecture, in which the beauty of the pointed arch, with its accompaniments, is best discerned; and therefore it is that judges are wont to give it the preference over all subsequent alterations and refinements. The spaces between these door-ways, like those of the windows over them, are empannelled with pointed arches, subdivided by smaller arches, and resting on slender pillars.

"From the brief description thus given of this stately *front*, the reader will perceive that it was begun in one age, and finished, as we now behold it, in another. Some discrepancies of style may therefore be expected to present themselves, but these are so eclipsed by the grandeur of its leading features, that the eye takes in the whole as a single conception, and overlooks, in its contemplation of such a magnificent association of objects, the marks of difference that exist between the efforts of earlier and later genius."

Passing from the west towards the east, by the northern side of the Church, we view in succession the small transept at the north-west angle, the whole northern side with its lofty transept, the aile of the choir, the new work closing round the semicircular east end, with the upper part of that end, also its two original, perforated, pinnacled turrets, the lantern tower, and the entire extent of the clerestory. The whole of this range of building, being divested of extraneous objects, may be examined in detail, and also from a single point, as shown in the engraved view from the north-east, which should be figured, VIII. At the east end, the bold buttresses, large windows, peculiar parapet and pinnacles (if seated statues may be so named), are exhibited to view, as seen in PLATE X, which also displays the

style and decoration of the upper part of the apsis, and the eastern elevation of the *south transept*. An antient Norman door-way is cut through the wall of this transept, and formerly communicated with a *slyp*, or covered passage, from the cloister to the infirmary, and to other conventual buildings[19].— There is a singular variety in the design and construction of this transept, which is not easily accounted for. Against its western wall is a vaulted room, or rooms, now used as a plumbery and a vestry. Modern door-ways are cut through the walls from the church and from the cloister court to these rooms, whilst the old entrance from the aile is closed up. The southern and western walls of the *Cloisters* remain, and contain a singular variety of tracery mouldings, columns, and door-ways. There are also two door-ways to the southern aile of the nave, both having semicircular arches, with slender shafts at the sides, and with archivolt mouldings, adorned with the chevron and other Norman ornaments. Opposite to these door-ways, at the south-east and south-western extremities of the cloister, are two other door-ways having pointed arches, surmounting others of the circular form, enriched with sculptured mouldings and figures[20]. The architectural style of these openings are indicative of the middle of the twelfth century, whilst the arcade mouldings, at the eastern end of the same wall, may be regarded as having been the design of about 1180: the *lavatories* in the same wall, as already stated, were made about 1220; and there is one door-way in the western wall, now closed, which the learned Dr. Ingram of Oxford decidedly ascribes to the Anglo-Saxon age, and to Anglo-Saxon workmen[21]. A

[19] At the Cathedrals of Winchester, Canterbury, Gloucester, and Norwich, we find a similar slyp, still remaining. It separated the transept from the chapter-house, and was a passage of communication between the cloister and church, and to certain monastic offices.

[20] One of these forms part of the title-page to the fifth volume of "*The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*;" and the other is represented, but with the opening supposed to be walled up, in the centre of the engraved title-page to this volume. This singular design shews a lofty pointed arch, with numerous deep mouldings, springing from tall slender shafts, enclosing a lower semicircular arched door-way, above which is a quatrefoil aperture, or window.

[21] This arch-way is represented, and also described at page 208, in the volume referred to in the former note.

narrow passage conducts the visiter by the south-western tower again to the western front.

A more minute description of the varied exterior features and peculiarities of this building might be easily given; but fearing it would be deemed uninteresting to the general reader, I am induced to forbear,—and refer to the pictorial language of the annexed Engravings, which the artists and connoisseurs of all nations can read. By examining the ground plan, with the Plates, numbered II. III. IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. X. and XII. a stranger may obtain clear information of general form, exterior features, arrangement of parts, styles and peculiarities of the windows, buttresses, parapets, pinnacles, towers, and spires, which enter into, and constitute the composition of this edifice. A few remarks on those parts of the building delineated in the prints, may be deemed useful by some readers. The western front has been already fully described by my learned friend, Mr. Garbett; and the illustrations of this part of the Church are so ample and so explicit, that its whole design, as well as its construction and embellished details, must be readily understood and appreciated. The design of the northern and southern transept of this front, with the elevations of the western, or small transept, may be seen delineated in PLATE VII., which is a representation of the northern end of that transept, with which the opposite wing corresponds, as shewn by the print referred to: the northern transept is surmounted by its gabled end and pinnacles, backed by the bell tower, which is also crowned with pinnacles and flanked by a staircase tower, terminated at the apex, with four angular pinnacles and a central spire. This engraving also represents the character of the buttresses, the lower tier of windows to the aile, a series of semicircular arcades extending the whole length of the building, and which originally terminated the height of the outer walls of the triforium. These walls have been raised, and a series of pointed arched windows inserted at a time much later than the original work. Ten compartments of windows, between flat buttresses, make up the external elevation of the aile of the nave. The elevation of the western face of the north transept is clearly defined in PLATE XIV., whilst the end of the same

transept, and its eastern side, are shewn in PLATE VIII. This print, and that figured X., will illustrate the whole exterior of the eastern end of the Church. Within small circular niches, round the upper part of the choir, are seven busts; and on the string course, or cornice, of the new building, among various ornaments, are the names and monogramic signs of abbots *Kirton* and *Ashton*, the architects or builders of this incongruous, but splendid appendage to the Church.

INTERIOR.—Solidity and massiveness of construction characterise the interior of this Church. It seems to have been designed for eternity. Not only the main walls and columnar piers are strong, and arranged with a view to secure permanency; but the arches and every ornamental member partake of the same character. Like the Egyptian, and the Grecian Doric temples, of remote ages and of distant nations, this edifice—in its nave, transept, and choir, impresses the mind with sentiments of awful veneration. Grandeur and sublimity are the concomitant elements of its effect; and whilst the scientific visiter is engaged in analysing these characteristics, he necessarily reverts to the persons—to the times—and to the religion which jointly combined to produce such a noble edifice. The pagan temples of refined Greece, and of pompous Rome, have obtained almost boundless praise[22]. All artists and antiquaries, who have published their opinions on those venerable remains of former times, have lauded their merits—have panegyrised their every feature, whilst the same writers have either entirely passed over, or but slightly adverted to, the complicated and truly interesting edifices designed and raised by the Christian architects of the middle ages[23]. These buildings have at length obtained their due and proper

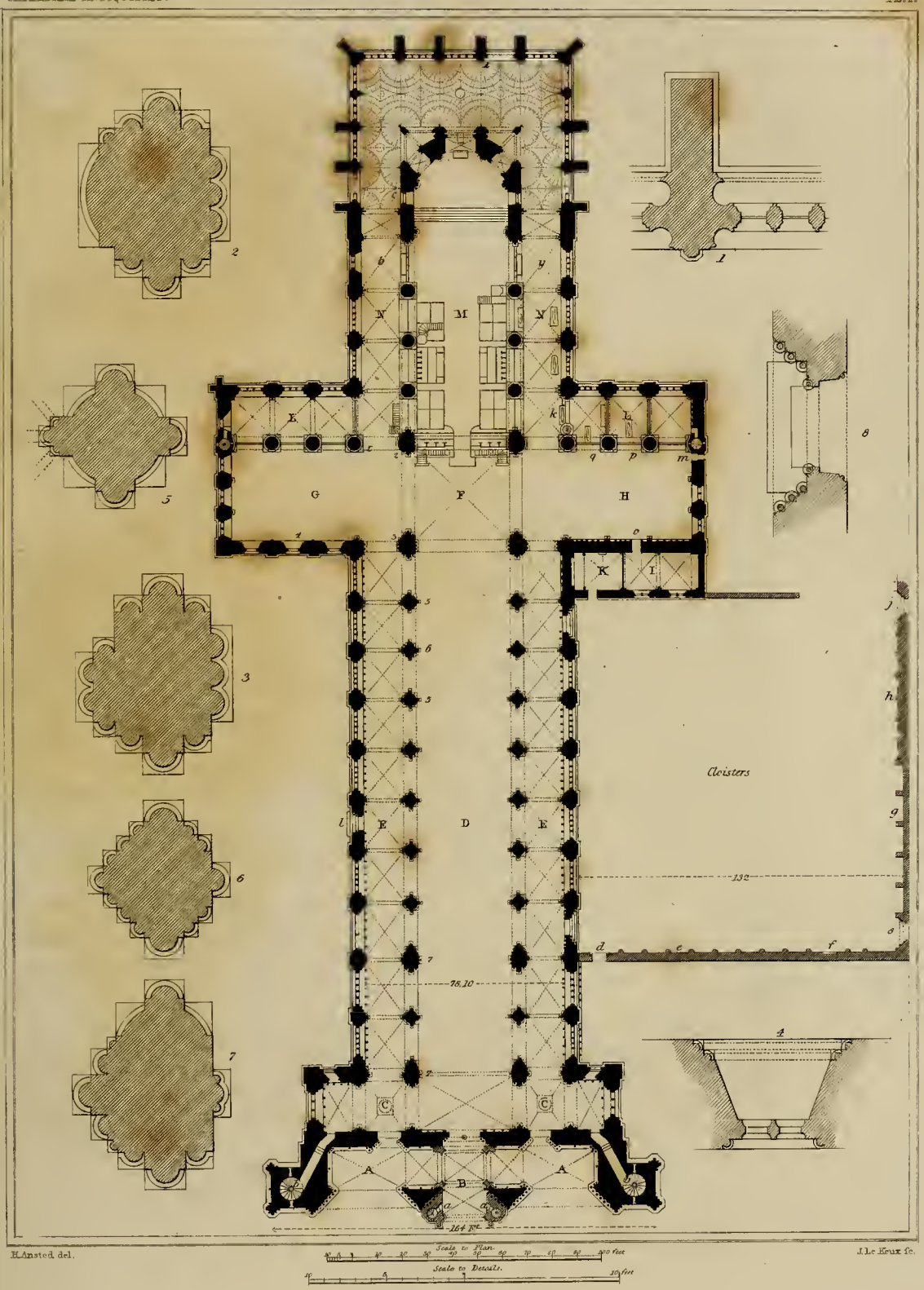
[22] It would occupy much space to notice the numerous volumes and opinions that have been published by different travellers on the Architectural Antiquities of Greece and Italy. Those by *Eustace* and *Forsyth* are certainly the most popular, and must be familiar to almost all readers that take an interest in those subjects. A very valuable work has been published by the Rev. Thomas S. Hughes, one of the Prebendaries of this Cathedral, on "Sicily, Greece, and Albania," in two volumes, 4to. 1820.

[23] As contradistinguished from the Pagan architecture of former ages, I venture to designate buildings raised for Christian rites, by the term *Christian architecture;* and though innovations in language may be reproved, and are repugnant to the feelings of many persons, yet all are

share of attention; and it will be found that a careful study of them will amply reward the professional architect as well as the antiquary. Replete with science in their various parts of construction,—offering to the artist fine examples of form, outline, and picturesque arrangement, they also exhibit to the historian and archæologist fertile themes for study, and for critical investigation: it may indeed be safely affirmed, that there is not any one class of subjects more important, and more deeply interesting than the Cathedrals of this country.

The ground plan and PLATES v. xi. xiii. xiv. xv. and xvi. will serve to illustrate the general design, arrangement, and varied styles of architecture, which characterise the *interior* of the building. By PLATE i. it is seen that the enclosed area consists of a sort of vestibule, at the west end, a nave and two ailes, a transept with an eastern aile, a choir with two ailes, and bounded at the east end by a large decorated apartment called the new building. The vestibule forms a continuation of the nave and the ailes on the floor, but exhibits a different style of architecture in its columns, windows, arched roof, and details, and extends laterally, beyond the ailes on both sides. These peculiarities are defined in PLATES i. v. and xi. The nave and its ailes display a uniform style of architecture in their arches, piers, triforia, and walls; but the windows of the clerestory, triforia, and ailes are all of a later date, and are evident insertions in the original walls,—excepting indeed the exterior walls of the triforium, which appear to have been raised, and a new roof formed when some great alterations were made to the Church. As already noticed, the ceiling, or inner roof of the nave, consists of painted boards, and that of the transept is of the same material: thus not only the architectural character of those lofty parts are deteriorated, but the obtrusive and spotty style in which they are painted offend the eye and injure the apparent magnitude and effect of the building. The ailes are

agreed that the word *Gothic* is not only incorrect but is absurd, and ought to be exploded.—In my estimation the term Christian is at once strictly applicable, correct, and descriptive of that original class of buildings invented for, and applied to ecclesiastical purposes. By Christian architecture I embrace in the whole genus, and particularize the species by adjunctive names. See "*Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*," vol. v. page 31.



H.Ansted del. J.Le Keux fc.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

GROUND PLAN, & PLANS OF PARTS.

Printed by Barnett & Son

London. Published June 1.1827. by Longman & Co Paternoster Row.

properly and appropriately vaulted, as shewn in PLATE XIII., which view also delineates the forms and styles of the capitals, bases, and demi-columns, surrounding the great shafts; the form and dressing of the aile windows, the form of the groin-ribs, and the manner in which the walls, beneath the windows, are adorned with interlaced semicircular arch-mouldings. Some of the capitals of these small columns consist of snakes, or monsters' heads, with the shaft issuing from the mouth. On the eastern side of the transept is an aile, as defined in the plan, and in PLATE XIV., the southern division of which is separated into three chapels, or oratories, as they were originally appropriated, but now used as appendages to the choir. Over this aile is a triforium, behind an arched screen, which extends along the ailes of the choir to their junction with the new work.

The *lantern*, at the intersection of the nave and choir, with the transept, is open to the vaulted roof, as shewn in the sectional part of PLATE XIV. In the same print is displayed the section of one of its lofty arches, and an elevation of that between the tower and the choir, which assumes the pointed form, although undoubtedly built with the circular work of the choir and nave. This contemporaneous use of the semi-circular and pointed arches prove that the latter form was known to, and practised by the Christian architects about the middle of the twelfth century, although the former constituted the prevalent style. Large circular, octangular, and polygonal columns, with arches of the horse-shoe shape, were in use at the same time; whilst the chevron, billet, nebule, and trowel ornaments were employed in the mouldings, string courses, filling in of the arches, and in the blocking courses. Of the *choir* we have no representation, which I much regret; for the semi-circular form of the altar end, and its general design and details, would have formed an interesting view. The columns, arches, triforium, and clerestory nearly resemble the same features in the transept; but the effect, and particularly the eastern termination, are different, and of peculiar character. Its vaulted roof is boarded, but assumes an imitation of the florid pointed style,—being disposed in several compartments by thin ribs. Over the altar end it is painted in patterns resembling floor-cloth. The

two eastern windows are filled with a collection of painted glass, of varied patterns and colours; whilst the central window of the building, behind the altar, is filled with vivid modern stained glass. The fitting up of the choir, in its throne, stalls, pulpit, and seats, is very poor and mean; and the small screen behind the altar is equally petty. These defects are soon to be remedied, and it is presumed that the choir of Peterborough Cathedral, at no distant period, will vie with some of the more sumptuous churches of the country. The ailes of the choir correspond very nearly in their general forms of vaulting, arcades, and other features with those of the nave and transept, as indicated in PLATE XV. The view represented in this print is taken from the new building at the east end, and displays the lofty narrow-pointed arch, which separates the Norman work of the aile from the new building of the Tudor species. Whilst this print exhibits the junction of these two dissimilar and discordant parts of the buildings, the PLATE figured XVI. defines the whole design, and elaborately ornamental character of the new building. The analogy between this and the magnificent Chapel of King's College, Cambridge, will be immediately recognised by the architectural antiquary,—as in the elaborate fan-tracery and bold bosses of the roof there is great similitude.

The foregoing descriptive remarks, aided by the sixteen prints which embellish this volume, will furnish the reader, it is hoped, with full and satisfactory information respecting the whole, and the subordinate parts of Peterborough Cathedral Church. It cannot be deemed irrelevant to notice, in the next place, the various reparations and embellishments which have been made here since the fabric has been placed under the government of a Dean and Chapter.

REPAIRS, &c. To Humphrey Austen, by whose care the Swapham MS. was preserved, and who was precentor at the time Cromwell's soldiers committed havock already described, much credit is due, not only for this act, but for procuring a subscription to preserve and repair the fabric.

In the year 1662, many repairs were made to the church during the time of Dean Rainbow; when the seventh part of the fines of the Dean and Chapter

was appropriated to that purpose. It was also ordered, in the chapter-minutes, that the "dotation of a hundred pounds be yearly appropriated towards repairs[24]." *Dean Cosin,* who had been exiled in France for about eighteen years, was reinstated here in 1660, and exerted himself in the re-establishment of the church duties. He gave three hundred pounds for church repairs, and at another time expended forty pounds on a tomb to the memory of his wife. Bishop Laney gave a hundred pounds towards repairing one of the "great arches of the church porch, which was fallen down in the late times[25]. In 1681, above fifteen hundred pounds were required "to repair and amend several breaks and defects in the church;" and most of the prebendaries then subscribed ten pounds *per annum* each.

Considerable repairs and alterations were again required about 1780, at which time the mean gothic screen behind the altar, and the equally mean organ screen, were erected. It is not generally known, and it will be scarcely believed, that the late Mr. Carter was consulted, and gave designs for these subjects; for the style and ornaments are rather of the Batty Langley, than of the Carter school; and it cannot but excite astonishment that an artist, who knew so much, and was so severely censorious of others, could have given such designs. There seems no other way of accounting for it, but by supposing that he made very slight drawings, and sent them to Peterborough, where they were put into the hands of an ignorant and clumsy carpenter. Again in 1791, the same gentleman was consulted by Dean Sutton, the present archbishop of Canterbury, respecting some proposed alterations in the choir, and furnished drawings for that purpose. [All Mr. Carter's sketches are in my possession[26].]

[24] Previously only fifty-four pounds per year were applied to this purpose; and at the present time there is no other fund provided for keeping in repair, or for the improvements of this large building. All the rest of the large sums yearly devoted to this purpose are voluntarily given by the Dean and Chapter.

[25] Patrick, History of Peterb. p. 332.

[26] These sketches are arranged in thirty-seven folio volumes, and seem to comprise a series of all which he ever made during his extensive tours over England. The volumes also contain numerous letters from Mr. Gough, Sir Richard Hoare, Mr. Ives, and other persons, containing commissions and directions. In a letter addressed to the chapter clerk at Peterborough,

The turrets at the angles of the centre tower, which appear to have been raised under the direction of the late Dean Kipling, neither accord with the style of that tower, nor with other turrets of the Church.

A new era and better taste have at length arrived:—the clergy are generally qualified to appreciate the genuine styles of Christian architecture, and are aware that their judgment would be impeached were they to direct or sanction incongruous or capricious innovations. It is now the fashion to assimilate all new works to the older parts to which they are attached.

Architects have qualified themselves to do this, and know that, by doing so, they secure more credit to themselves than by exercising the most fertile fancy in invention. Recently much has been done in the Cathedral of Peterborough, and much more is projected and in the progress of being carried into execution.

Extremely limited in fabric funds, this noble church must have fallen to ruins, but for the personal exertions and sacrifices of its members. On the present occasion we find more than common zeal and liberality manifested. By the appeal, which will be recorded in a note, and the names of certain noblemen and gentlemen who have promptly come forward with subscriptions to ornament the church, and adorn its interior, we see that Englishmen are willing to assist in such laudable objects when the clergy themselves are liberal and sincere[27].

Mr. C. begs him to direct "the minster carpenter" to fill up the tracery, &c. of the windows to the ailes of the choir, in order that he might finish his drawing "of the design of the new choir." The carpenter's explanations are rather curious specimens of orthography and syntax. He writes: "I an a Nother person has Taken all the pains we coud to inform you of the windows I think you will understand the drawings—these windows is of the same design and of one same hignesse by," &c. At this time Mr. Carter gave designs for some alterations to the mansion at Elton in Northamptonshire, the seat of the Earl of Carysford.

[27] Nearly all the English Cathedrals are distinguished by the sumptuous decorations of their choirs. The stalls, screens, thrones, &c. are replete with sculptural and carved embellishments; not so that of Peterborough: there the reverse is notorious, the whole of the original choir having been destroyed in the civil war, and some mean pews of deal wood having been substituted about ninety years ago. To remedy this defect, and make this part worthy the magnitude and noble character of the church, the present dean and chapter have volunteered a liberal subscription, and exerted themselves to obtain donations from other persons. By an order of the dean

The plan now commenced comprehends a new organ screen of stone, and the entire new fitting up of the choir with stalls, throne, pulpit, and altar screen. The organ screen is designed in the style of the age of Edward the First, and consists of an entrance into the choir, under a richly moulded pointed arch, surmounted by a crocketed canopy. On each side of this entrance are four deeply recessed niches, with projecting canopy heads, surmounted by acute pointed pediments, both of which are enriched with crockets and terminated

and chapter, the following Address has been extensively circulated, and its effects have been very successful:—

"The *altar screen*, and the *screen which separates the choir from the nave* of this church, together with the organ gallery, the stalls, and all the woodwork of the choir, although in good repair, are well known to be unworthy of the magnificent structure to which they belong.

"The Dean and Chapter, having lately made their utmost exertions in substantially repairing the Cathedral, and in restoring the architectural ornaments of the exterior, are anxious to complete their work, by remedying these deplorable defects of the interior. With this view they have procured plans and drawings, of an appropriate character, from Mr. *Edward Blore*, an eminent architect in London. But the funds of the church are, and ever must be, inadequate to so great an undertaking. They, therefore, think it their duty to adopt an expedient, which has been successful in some other cathedrals on similar occasions, by respectfully announcing their design to the nobility, gentry, clergy, and other inhabitants of the diocese of Peterborough, and of its neighbourhood, with a hope of obtaining the favour of their assistance.

"The whole expense of the projected work will exceed five thousand pounds. The Dean and Chapter have themselves voted a thousand pounds towards it, being the largest sum which their means will allow: and they have individually added their personal subscriptions, in aid of this object, to the amount of a thousand and fifty pounds.

"If the subscription be not sufficient, the contributions will be returned to the respective subscribers.

PETERBOROUGH,
July 31, 1827.

"By order of the Dean and Chapter,
"JOHN GATES, CHAPTER CLERK."

In pursuance of this address, a sum amounting to above five thousand pounds has been subscribed, and consequently the works are commenced. A new organ screen, with stalls, throne, seats, and fitting up of the choir; also an altar screen, &c. are therefore to be executed forthwith in a substantial manner, and in a good style. The designs, as stated above, are by Mr. Blore, whose extensive knowledge of Christian architecture, and industrious habits, eminently qualify him for the task: and I cannot doubt but the whole, when finished, will redound to his own credit, and to that of the clergy of the cathedral. As a memorable event in the history of the fabric, I subjoin a list of the contributors, and amounts of their respective subscriptions; and thus place them on a more permanent record than any painted or engraven

by finials. The angles of the screen are finished, and the sides of the entrance flanked with octagonal spiral turrets, the various stages whereof are enriched by crocketed canopies. The side canopies are separated by projecting buttresses, finished with canopied tops: all the spandrels are filled with shields; those of the entrance to the choir are further enriched with diaper-work. The whole of the screen is surmounted by a parapet of open trefoils. The passage into the choir is arched over with moulded ribs,

inscription in the church could effect. My own aid in such a cause must be taken in good wishes, and in personal advocacy; for it is painful to assert that after fifteen years' zealous exertions, and great pecuniary advances in illustrating the history and architecture of the English Cathedrals, the balance of accounts is *against* the author.

In the ensuing list, I have classed the names according to the amounts, from £1000 to £5.

Dean and Chapter of Peterborough, £1000.
The Right Honourable Earl Fitzwilliam, £500.
Rev. Spencer Madan, D.D. £400.

At £.200 each.—The Archbishop of Canterbury, The Bishop of Peterborough, The Dean of Peterborough.

At £100 each.—Rev. Jos. Stephen Pratt, Rev. Jos. Parsons, Rev. William Tournay, Rev. Richard Lockwood, Lord Viscount Milton, and Mrs. Barnard.

At £.50 each.—Venerable Archdeacon Strong, Rev. Thomas S. Hughes, William Walcot Squire, Esq., Mr. Justice Bayley, Lord Sondes, Earl Spencer, Jesse Watts Russell, Esq., Edward Brown, Esq., Colonel Madan.

At £.25 each.—John Gates, Esq., Venerable Archdeacon Bonney, Venerable Archdeacon Bayley, William Bate, Esq. Earl Brownlow.

At £.21 each.—Mrs. Parsons, John Baron Howes, Esq., Sir J. Scarlett, M. P., John Forster, Esq.

At £.20 each.—Rev. William Mansfield, Christopher Jeffery, Esq., James Yorke, Esq., W. R. Cartwright, Esq., M. P. Rev. Philip Fisher, D. D. Lord Viscount Althorpe, Sir James Langham, Bart. Hon. and Rev. Henry C. Cust, Sir Robert Heron, Bart., Messrs. Simpson, Mewburn, and Miller, Rev. Samuel E. Hopkinson, Lord Strathavon, Rev. Hugh Hughes, Allen Edward Young, Esq., Rev. William Forster, J. Madan Maitland, Esq., William Alexander Morland, Esq.

At £.15.—Rev. Septimus Hodgson.

At 12 Guineas.—William James Smith, Esq.

At 10 Guineas each.—Thomas Atkinson, Esq., Thomas White, Esq., Rev. William Strong, Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, D. D., Sir Rd. Brooke de Capel Brooke, Bart., Edward Gibbons, Esq., William L. Hopkinson, Esq. M.D., William Custance, Esq., John Whitsed, Esq. M. D., Rev. John Hopkinson, Mrs. King, Colonel Vaughan, Dr. Harrison, Mr. William Buckle.

resting on columns. The sides are pannelled to correspond with the style of the screen. The whole of the fitting up of the choir is in the style of Edward the Third, more particularly in imitation of the Lady Chapel of Ely Cathedral. On each side of the entrance are four stalls, over which is an assemblage of rich tabernacle work enclosing the choir organ. On the south side, the space between the piers is appropriated to seats, or closets, for the families of the dignitaries of the church, surmounted by

At £.10 each.—Rev. John Hopkinson, Precentor, Rev. William Head, Rev. Thomas Mills, Rev. Thomas Garbett, Rev. John Boak, Benjamin Ball, Esq., Rev, John Bringhurst, William Lawrance, Esq., Fenwick Skrimshire, Esq. M. D., Thomas Bowis, Esq., Mrs. Stevens, Mrs. Ibbetson, William George Porter, Esq. Mr. Morris Tonge, Mr. Thomas Cheshire, Rev. Henry Freeman, Mr. James Hoyes, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Cox, Miss Cox, Rev. Jos. Pratt, Messrs. Crisp and Ball, Rev. Thomas K. Bonney, R. F. and W. Pate, Rev. Josiah R. Buckland, D. D. Charles M. Clarke, Esq., William Watson, Esq. Hon. and Rev. George Spencer, Hon. and Rev. Richard Cust, Rev. Thomas Sikes, Rev. Robert Roberts, D. D. Hon. and Rev. George Gordon, Rev. Charles Child, Mr. Head, Daniel Yorke, Esq., William Hopkinson, Esq. Hon. and Rev. Henry Watson, Rev. Richard Buck, The Mrs. Beharrels, Rev. H. Y. Smythies, Edward Jenkins, Esq., Rev. Henry Portington, Rev. Robert Boon, Lady Frances Fitzwilliam, Admiral Stopford, Miss Penelope Frances Madan, Mrs. Hopkinson.

At 6 Guineas each.—Mrs. Mirehouse, Mr. Charles Jacob, Mr. Charles Dowse.

At 5 Guineas each.—Mr. Francis Buckle, Mrs. Walton, Earl of Euston, Rev. H. J. Wollaston, Thomas Walker, Esq. Thomas Goodman, Esq. Thomas Goodman, Jun. Mr. Samuel Buckle, Mr. John Bains, Miss White, William Bowker, Esq. William Gates, Esq. Rev. Heneage Finch, Mrs. William Hopkinson, Rev. William Whewell, Mrs. Tournay.

At £.5 each.—Mr. John Wilson, Mr. John Speechly, Mr. John Salman, Mr. Edward Larking, Mr. Thomas White, Jun. Mr. William Edwards, Rev. Christopher Hodgson, Mr. Daniel Ruddle, Mr. William Southam, Mr. John Thompson, J. G. Arnold, Esq. M. D. Captain Underwood, Mr. Benjamin Bull Goodman, Mr. John Molecey, Henry S. Thornton, Esq, Rev. William Roberts, Rev. John James, Charles Fred. Yorke, Esq. Mr. William Core, Mr. William Daniells, John Broughton, Esq. Rev. Daniel Twining, Rev. Francis Tenant, Rev. John Miller, Mrs. Hopkinson, Mrs. Bousquet, Dr. Wright, William Tyler Smith, Esq.

A summary of which is—One at £. 1000—One at £. 500—One at £. 400—Three at £. 200—Six at £. 100—Nine at £. 50—Five at £. 25—Four at £. 21—Seventeen at £. 20—One at £. 15—One at 12 Guineas—Fourteen at 10 Guineas—Forty-seven at £. 10—Three at 6 Guineas—Sixteen at Five Guineas—Twenty-eight at £. 5—One at 3 Guineas—One at £. 3—Two at 2 Guineas—Fourteen at 1 Guinea—amounting in the whole to £. 5021. 11*s.*—*June*, 1828.

galleries, the fronts of which are finished with rich canopy work. Before the two westernmost piers are seats for the minor canons, surmounted by rich canopies; and fronting the next pier, eastward, is the bishop's throne, consisting of a rich canopy, terminated by a lofty spire of open tracery. The arrangement of the north side corresponds with the south, excepting the pulpit, which is placed against the second pier from the west, and is formed of an assemblage of rich canopy work, with a base of quatrefoils and other details. In front and advancing into the choir near the centre are seats for choristers, lay clerks, and the king's scholars; and on the sides are three tiers of seats for the accommodation of a congregation. The fronts of all these, towards the choir, are finished with canopy work, and the sides with tracery. The whole of the work above described is to be executed in oak. The arches, adjoining the altar steps to the north and south, are to be occupied by entrances to the choir from the side ailes, consisting each of a centre and two side canopies, in stone. The altar screen, also of stone, will consist of a centre and two side canopies between the two easternmost piers, and of a series of canopies, running between the intermediate piers north and south, until they meet the entrances into the choir from the side ailes. The whole of the canopies described in the choir consist of ogee projecting arches, surmounted by straight pediments, finished with crockets and finials, and also with foliated spandrels. The entrance to the galleries, between the piers, is from the side ailes, and is formed, as well as the front of the gallery itself, of trefoil headed arches, of the time of Edward the First, and is to be executed in oak.

Monuments, *and Interments of distinguished Persons.*—If the Monastic Church of Peterborough was ever adorned with monumental sculpture and brases, nearly the whole have been taken away and destroyed. The narrative already given, page 37, shews the wanton and reckless havock committed here by an army of frantic soldiers: and we cannot therefore be surprised at the poverty this church exhibits in monuments, shrines, chantry chapels, &c. Five effigies or relievos of old abbots, a few slabs, also a small number of mural marble tablets, and one large marble monument, with a recumbent

effigy, are all that remain to commemorate the eminent, or the less distinguished dead. Yet beneath the floor of this church have been interred two queens, two archbishops, several abbots and priors, with many of the bishops, deans, and other distinguished members of the establishment.

The most antient monumental trophy which is preserved in the church is a block of stone, called the *shrine* of the monks, who were murdered by the Danes in 870. It is placed beneath one of the arches behind the altar, and is ornamented at the sides and top with rude sculpture, representing twelve figures of saints or apostles, in low relief, with foliage, &c. In the south aile of the choir are four antient monumental *effigies*, or rather figures in bold relief, on slabs, which formerly covered so many stone coffins. Two of these are delineated in the engraved title, PLATE XII. Three of them are ascribed to Abbots Sais, Andreas, and De Vecti. On the floor, in the aile of the south transept, is an old figure in low relief, said to represent Abbot Hotot. These are the only antient memorials; but modern inscriptions on the north side of the high altar point out the names and places of sepulture of two archbishops of York, Elfric and Kinsius. Near the altar steps were interred Abbots Croyland, Deeping, Genge, Murcot, and Boothby, whilst the graves of abbots De Caleto and Woodford are pointed out in the south aile of the choir. Priors Paris, Cliff, and Pighteste were interred in the north transept, and Prior William Exton in the south transept. John Chambers, the last abbot and first bishop, was interred in the south aile of the choir.

The burial place of *Queen Katharine*, already noticed, page 26, was in the north aile of the choir; and that of *Queen Mary* of Scotland was in the south aile, nearly opposite the former; but there is nothing of a monumental kind to commemorate the places of sepulture of these two ill treated queens[28]. Fortunately for the inquiring world—for the cause of virtue and truth, their names, merits and demerits—their frailties and their good

[28] Attached to the north wall of the altar, in the aile, is a shrine or monument, which has been erroneously ascribed to Queen Mary. It is however a mélange of fragments, part of which was a shrine of St. Tibba.

qualities, with the same characteristics of their respective persecutors, are permanently recorded in the page of public history. To this every individual can refer, and this is too extensively disseminated ever to be forgotten, or obliterated. The first queen of Henry the Eighth was interred here in January, 1535-6, with some degree of regal pomp: and the almost broken hearted Mary, Queen of Scots, after being beheaded at Fotheringay Castle, was buried in the south aile of the choir, August 1, 1587. Many interesting, but distressing particulars respecting the persecution, long imprisonment, trial, and execution of this Queen are recorded in Hunter's valuable "History of Hallamshire;" in Archdeacon Bonney's useful "Historic Notices, in reference to Fotheringay," as well as in Chalmers's "Life, &c. of Mary Queen of Scots," three vols. 8vo.; Miss Benger's "Memoirs of Mary Queen of Scots," two vols. 8vo.; also in the Rev. John Whitaker's "Vindication," three vols. 8vo. The story of a beautiful and persecuted queen, who suffered many years' rigorous confinement in various castles, and who lived at a time when poetry and romance were the prevalent literature of the age, could not fail of occupying much popular attention, and exciting much controversy. We consequently find that, from 1569 up to the present time, many writers have employed their pens in vindicating her character and memory; whilst others have endeavoured to impeach both, and justify her merciless persecutor. If it be stated that, at least, one hundred volumes, tracts, plays, &c. have been produced on the subject, I shall speak within bounds. See Watts's "*Bibliotheca Britannica*," vol. iii.

Were I to close the account of monuments and of *distinguished* persons, without noticing that very popular personage—"*old Scarlett*," I should scarcely be pardoned by some of the curious strangers who visit the Cathedral, and who think more *highly* of the *exalted* picture of the famous Verger than of any other object in the church. A full length portrait of him is fixed against the western wall, representing the venerable verger with his shovel, keys, whip, jacket, belt, black cap, &c. the costume of the times and insignia of his office. He had the honour, or misfortune, of interring two injured queens in the Cathedral, and died in July, 1594, aged ninety-eight.

There are some *antiquarian appendages* to this Cathedral deserving notice, but I can only appropriate a small space to them. First in rank and interest is the *Bishop's Palace,* which, as already remarked, occupies the site, and consists partly of remains, of the abbots' house. Although these venerable fragments of monastic architecture are mixed up with, and almost destroyed by the progressive alterations and additions made by different occupants, the following parts are left to gratify the antiquary, and to exercise his speculations. The present entrance hall is a curious vaulted apartment, with a single row of columns, extending north and south through the middle. Some of the cellars and other offices are also arched over, and supported on piers or columns. Two oriel, or bay windows, with the monogram of Kirton, project from the walls of "Heaven Chamber." The garden walls exhibit remains of the refectory and of other apartments, and also some beautiful columns, arches, sculptured bosses, &c. To the east of these are several lofty arches, clustered columns and arcades, belonging to a building called the Infirmary. North of the Cathedral is the Deanery-house and gardens, both of which have been greatly improved by the present worthy and learned occupant:—but excepting the entrance gateway, already noticed, there is little to detain and interest the architectural antiqury.

The following lines were formerly intended to characterise the Monasteries of Peterborough, and others in the neighbourhood:—

"RAMSEY the rich of gold and of fee,
THORNEY the flower of many fair tree;
CROWLAND the courteous of their meat and their drink,
SPALDING the gluttons, as all men do think:
PETERBOROUGH the proud,
SAUTREY by the way—that old Abbay
Gave more alms in one day—than all they."

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE

Bishops of Peterborough,

WITH THE CONTEMPORARY KINGS OF ENGLAND.

No.	BISHOPS.	Translated or Consecrated.	Died or Translated.	Buried at	Kings.
1	John Chambers	..... Oct. 23, 1541	Died 1557	Peterborough	Henry VIII. Edw. VI. Mary
2	D. Pole, or Poole, LL. D.	Inst. . . Aug. 15, 1557	Depriv. 1559, D. 1568	Peterborough	Mary.
3	Edmund Scambler, D.D.	.....Feb. 16, 1560-1	Norwich.....1584	Norwich.....	Elizabeth.
4	Richard Howland, D.D.	..... Feb. 8, 1584-5	Died .....June, 1600	Peterborough	Elizabeth.
5	Thomas Dove, D.D. . .	.....April 26, 1601	Died August 30, 1630	Peterborough	Elizabeth, Jas. I. Charles I.
6	Wiliam Piers, D.D.....	Inst. . .Nov. 14, 1630	Bath and Wells, Dec. 13, 1632	Walthamstow	Charles I.
7	Augustine Lindsell, D.D.	Inst. Feb. 25, 1632-3	Hereford, March, 1634	Hereford	Charles I.
8	Francis Dee, D.D.....	Inst. . .May 28, 1634	Died October 8, 1638	Peterborough	Charles I.
9	John Towers, D.D..... [See vacant 12 years.]	Inst. March 8, 1638-9	Died. . .Jan. 10, 1648	Peterborough	Charles I.
10	Benjamin Laney, D.D.	Inst. . .Dec. 2, 1660	Lincoln.....1662	Ely, 1676.....	Charles II.
11	Joseph Henshaw, D.D.	Inst. . . .May 28, 1663	Died March 9, 1678	East Lavant..	Charles II.
12	William Lloyd, D.D..	.....May 17, 1679	Norwich, June 11, 1685	Hammersmith	Charles II.
13	Thomas White, D.D...	Inst ...Nov. 9, 1685	Depr. Feb. 1, 1690 Died.....1698	....	James II.
14	Rich. Cumberland, D.D.	Inst....July 5, 1691	Died October 9, 1718	Peterborough	Wm. and Mary
15	White Kennett, D.D...	Inst....Nov. 9, 1718	Died . .Dec. 19, 1728	Peterborough	George I.
16	Robert Clavering, D.D.	Trans. Mar. 10, 1728-9	Died ..... July, 1747	Peterborough	George II.
17	John Thomas, D.D....	Inst...October 4, 1747	Salisbury . .1757 Died May 1, 1781	Winchester . .	George II.
18	Richard Terrick, D.D. .	Inst.... July 3, 1757	London ....1764 D. Mar. 31, 1777	London	George II.
19	Robert Lamb, D.D....	Inst. 1764	Died 1769	....	George III.
20	John Hinchcliffe, D.D..	Inst....Dec. 17, 1769	Died...Jan. 11, 1794	Peterborough	George III.
21	Spencer Madan, D.D...	Trans. Mar. 21, 1794	Died....Nov. 8, 1813	Peterborough	George III.
22	John Parsons, D.D. ...	Inst....Dec. 12, 1813	Died March 12, 1819	Oxford	George III.
23	Herbert Marsh, D.D...	Trans. April 8, 1819	.....	....	George III.

*** Brief Biographical Notices of most of these Prelates will be found in the preceding pages.

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE

Deans of Peterborough,

WITH BIOGRAPHICAL MEMORANDA.

No.	DEANS:	Elected.	Died or removed.
1	Fran. Abree[1], or Alree, B.D.	.....Sept. 4, 1541	
2	Gerard Carleton, B. D.....	.....November 6, 1543	Died.....1549
3	James Curthop[2], A. M.....	.....October 24, 1549	Died.....July 19, 1557
4	John Boxhall[3], LL. D.	.....July, 1557	Deprived.....1559
5	William Latymer[4], D. D....	 1560	Buried.....August 28, 1583
6	Richard Fletcher[5], D. D. ...	 1585	To See of Bristol.....Nov. 13, 1589
7	Thomas Nevile[6], D. D.	..... March 2, 1590	Dean of Canterbury..... 1597
8	John Palmer[7], D. D.....	Presented Dec. 3. 1597	Died.....1607
9	Richard Clayton[8], D. D.	Installed..July 28, 1608	Died..... .....June 5, 1612
10	George Meriton[9], D. D.....	Installed June 12, 1612	Dean of York.....1616
11	Henry Beaumont, D. D.....	Installed Mar. 20, 1616	Instal. Dean of Windsor May 18, 1622
12	William Piers[10], D. D.	Installed...June 9, 1622	Made Bishop.....1630
13	John Towers[11], D. D.	Installed Nov. 14, 1630	Made Bishop.....1638
14	Thomas Jackson[12], D. D. ...	Admitted Jan. 17, 1638	Died..... September 21, 1640
15	John Cosin[13], D. D.	Installed...Nov. 7, 1640	Consec. Bishop of Durham..... 1660
16	Edward Rainbow[14], D. D...	Installed Jan. 5, 1660-1	Consec. Bp. of Carlisle, July 10, 1664

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMORANDA RESPECTING THE DEANS.

[1] Alias Leicester, Prior of St. Andrew's, Northampton, and the first Dean of Peterborough.

[2] Buried at Christ Church, Oxford, of which he was a prebendary.

[3] Made Dean of Norwich at the same time, but deprived of his preferments by Queen Mary.

[4] By an order from Archbishop Laud the executors of Latymer were sued for the value of a great bell belonging to this church. Buried here.

[5] According to Sir John Harrington, Fletcher accepted the See of Bristol for the purpose of leasing out its revenues to courtiers, and which he did so freely and extravagantly that he left little for his successors. We are further told that he was promoted to the See of Worcester, thence to London; that he attended Mary Queen of Scots at Fotheringay to pray with her, and advised her to change her religion when on the scaffold; that "he died suddenly of discontent, through the queen's displeasure at him for his second marriage,"—and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, without any memorial. Willis's "Survey of Cathedrals," &c. vol. i. p. 779.

[6] Nevile was Rector of Barnack, and Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge. See Todd's Account of the Deans of Canterbury, 8vo.

[7] He was one of the Prebendaries of Lichfield in 1605. According to Brown Willis's statement, Dean Palmer "left behind him but an indifferent character here, for embezzling the lead and running much in debt."—"Survey of Cathedrals," vol. ii. p. 511. In his time Sir John Stanhope, Knight, was made "High Steward" of this Cathedral.

[8] Dean Clayton was Archdeacon of Lincoln, and Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, in the chapel of which college he was buried without any memorial.

[9] He was Rector of Hadley in Suffolk, and Dean of Bocking in Essex, and advanced to the Deanery of York, where he died December 23, 1624, and was buried in that Metropolitan Cathedral.

[10] Vide ante, p. 35.

[11] Vide ante, p. 35.

[12] President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and author of many controversial Essays, which were collected and published in three volumes, folio, by the Rev. B. Oley. Buried in the chapel of Corpus Christi College.

[13] For an account of this Dean, afterwards Bishop of Durham, and a man of great note, see Surtees's valuable History of the County Palatine, vol. i. fol. cvi. in which is a good portrait of the venerable prelate.

[14] Edward Rainbow, a native of Bliton near Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, after receiving his early education at Gainsborough, Peterborough, and Westminster Schools, was entered of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and thence removed to Magdalen College, Cambridge; and by the influence of the Earl of Suffolk was made master of the latter college in 1642, but was dispossessed of it for refusing to sign a protestation against the king, called the Oath of

No.	DEANS.	Elected.	Died or removed.
17	James Duport[15], D. D.	Installed July 27, 1664	Died.....1679
18	Simon Patrick[16], D. D.....	Installed...Aug. 1, 1679	Cons. Bp. of Chichester, Oct. 13, 1689
19	Richard Kidder[17], D. D.....	Installed Oct. 30, 1689	Con. Bp. of Bath & Wells, Aug. 30, 1691
20	Samuel Freeman[18], D. D....	Installed Sept. 21, 1691	Died.....October 14, 1707
21	White Kennett[19], D. D.....	.....Feb. 21, 1707	Made Bishop.....Nov. 9, 1718
22	Richard Reynolds[20], LL. D..	.....November 20, 1718	Translated to Bangor.....1721
23	William Gee, D. D.	.....December 9, 1721	Dean of Lincoln.....1722
24	John Mandeville[21], D. D. ...	.....May 26, 1722	Died at Lincoln .....January, 1724-5
25	Francis Lockier[22], D. D.	Installed March 25, 1724	Died at Peterborough 1740
26	John Thomas[23], D. D.	Installed .. Nov. 1, 1740	Made Bishop of St. Asaph 1743
27	Robert Lamb[24], LL. D.	1744	Made Bishop.....1764
28	Charles Tarrant[25], D. D.	From Carlisle.....1764	Died in London ..... Feb. 22, 1791

Engagement. In 1660 he was restored to his mastership, made chaplain to the king, and advanced to this deanery. He experienced much difficulty to obtain possession of the deanery-house, which was occupied by a mason named Blake, a violent Independent, who bought it of the sequestrators. In Bishop Kennett's "Register" are some curious particulars on this subject. Upon the translation of Dr. Sterne to York, Dean Rainhow was appointed to the See of Carlisle. He died March 26, 1684, aged seventy-six, and was buried at Dalston in Cumberland. A life of this amiahle and estimable prelate, made up chiefly from his diary, was published by Jonathan Banks, a schoolmaster of Applehy, 8vo. 1688. See Wood's "Athenæ Oxoniensis," by Dr. Bliss, vol. iv. col. 866.

[15] A brief but interesting Memoir of Dean Duport has been written by the present Dean, and published in the "*Museum Criticum*," vol. ii. He died July 17, 1679, aged seventy-three, and was buried in this Cathedral, where a long epitaph points out his progressive promotions and talents.

[16] Dean Patrick had been Vicar of Battersea, Surrey, Prebendary of Westminster, and Rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, Westminster. During his stay at Peterborough of ten years, he wrote his additions, &c. to Gunton's History of this Church; and was advanced to the See of Chichester, 1689, whence he was translated to Ely in 1691. Dying in May, 1707, aged eighty-one, he was interred in the Cathedral of that city, where a monument is raised to his memory, with a long Latin inscription. See Benthum's History, &c. of Ely Cathedral; and also Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary.

[17] See History, &c. of Wells Cathedral. His "Demonstration of the Messia" is considered a valuable book.

[18] The name and memory of Dean Freeman are perpetuated in the writings of Dryden and Pope. There is a good portrait of him, by Sir Godfrey Kneller, at the deanery. He was buried at Ecton, in the county of Northampton.

[19] See ante, p. 42. The exertions and merits of Kennett were not confined to literature and the duties of the church; for we find that he prosecuted a law-suit against the Earl of Exeter, respecting the rights of the dean and chapter as returning officers of the members of parliament for the city; and after a long struggle established his case. Among his MSS. are many documents on this subject.

[20] Dean Reynolds had been Rector of St. Peter's, Northampton, Prebendary and Chancellor of this Diocess, and also Rector of Connington in Cambridgeshire, and Denton, in the county of Huntingdon. After remaining dean of this church only three years he was promoted to the See of Bangor, and in 1723 further advanced to the episcopal chair of Lincoln; where he died, in 1743.

[21] Dean Mandeville, who was Archdeacon and Chancellor of Lincoln, and a Canon of Windsor, was buried in the Church of St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street, London.

[22] Dean Lockier was a man of some note in his time, being on terms of familiarity with George the First before he came to the throne. In his early days he was also intimate with Pope and Dryden, and comes in for a share of comment and praise in Malone's life of the latter eminent poet. Enjoying the friendship of Bishop Piers whilst living, he was honoured with a bequest of that prelate's library at his death. Whilst Dean Lockier presided here, the dean and chapter determined to erect new pews in the choir, which had continued ever since the Restoration to be wainscoted with the wood taken from the ceiling of the lady chapel. The present seats and stalls were then made, and though very plain and very tasteless, involved the dean and chapter in considerable debt. A new organ was also erected.

[23] Vide ante, p. 46. Before Dean Thomas was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph, he was promoted to Lincoln, and thence to Salisbury; where he died in 1766.

[24] Vide ante, p. 48.

[25] On Dean Lamb's promotion to the bishoprick, Dr. Tarrant of Baliol College, Oxford, and Dean of Carlisle, was made Dean of Peterborough. He collected various fragments of stained glass from differeot windows, and placed them in the two windows immediately over the altar. In 1777 he joined with the chapter in advancing a hundred pounds towards *new paving* the church; on which occasion the noblemen and gentlemen of the county subscribed the remainder

No.	DEANS.	Elected.	Died or removed.
29	Ch. Manners Sutton[26], D. D.	.....April, 1791	{ Translated to Norwich, thence to the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury.
30	Peter Peckard[27], D. D.	 1792	Died.....December 8, 1797
31	T. Kipling[28], D. D.	 1798	Died at Holme, Co. York.....1822
32	James Henry Monk[29], D. D.	Installed March 7, 1822	

to pay the expense. Most of the old monumental inscriptions were then unfortunately destroyed. Dean Tarrant had been progressively appointed a Prebendary of Bristol; Sub-dean, Sub-chanter, and Prebendary of Salisbury; Rector of North Tidworth; Rector of St. Mary-le-Strand; Vicar of Staines; Rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury; Vicar of Lamberhurst; Rector of Wrotham; Dean of Carlisle; and Dean Peterborough: and held several other valuable preferments at the time of his decease.—Gentleman's Magazine, 1791.

[26] Though Dean Sutton remained here only one year he was active in promoting improvements in his church, and has lately come forward with a liberal subscription to effect the embellishments now making.

[27] Dean Peckard was Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge, and author of a sermon preached at Huntingdon in 1753, in favour of a bill for naturalizing the Jews, and another sermon on civil and religious liberty, both of which excited much attention. He also engaged in a controversy with Mr. C. Fleming on the "Materiality of the Soul;" and was a zealous advocate for the abolition of the slave trade, which in his time engrossed popular sympathy. In 1790 he published a Memoir of his relation, Mr. Nicholas Farrar, and at different times produced several sermons, a list of which is printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1797, p. 1126. According to a statement in that useful miscellany, he died, Dec. 8, 1797, after a long and painful illness, in the eighty-third year of his age, in consequence of having cut off a small wen from his neck in the act of shaving. Whilst chaplain in the army he entered into the convivialities and follies too common with military officers; but after being seated at his rectory of Flitton, he adopted the strictest economy and moderation. He even carried this system to an extreme, and only gave his chapter one annual dinner. Hence he amassed considerable property, which was vested in his widow for life, and given afterwards to augment the incomes of the master and warden of Magdalen College.—Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lxviii. p. 440.

[28] Dr. Kipling, the last Dean of this Cathedral, presided here from 1797 to 1822. He was a native of Yorkshire, and entered of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1764; where he was progressively a bachelor, a fellow, and a tutor. In this capacity he read Lectures on Optics, which he was afterwards induced to publish. The preface contained the following extraordinary passage, which subjected its author to the sarcasm and censures of his contemporary critics. After mentioning the works of Emerson, Harris, &c. he says, "It is not intended in this character of the writings of others to intimate, in the slightest degree, that the following treatise is faultless; it contains *many inaccuracies*, and even some *errors*, of which the editor was *fully sensible before he sent the work to the press*, but was restrained from correcting them by the *dread of reprehension*."—Seldom has an author made such an admission, and as rarely pleaded such a silly excuse: but we must, in charity, suppose that he alludes to the *errors* and *inaccuracies* of other writers, whose calculations and conclusions he printed, but neglected to correct or point them out. Surely this is not consistent with the character of a sound and learned tutor.—Although this injudicious preface excited the laugh and sneer of many, there were others who knew and appreciated the learning of the tutor; and the Bishop of Llandaff, on retiring from the University, fixed on Dr. Kipling as his deputy professor of divinity. Here again the worthy tutor was doomed to follow two men of splendid talents, by the contrast with whom he sunk in public estimation. The eloquent Dr. Watson and the erudite Dr. Rutherford had invested this professorship with dignity, learning, and importance, which the new deputy professor was incompetent to continue. In 1793 Dr. Kipling edited and published the celebrated Manuscript of *Beza**, which was deposited in the University. In 1808, after resigning his chair, he published an Essay to prove that the Articles of the Church of England are not Calvinistical; which involved the dean and his friends in a splenetic controversy.

[29] Since the advancement of Professor Monk to this Deanery many useful and substantial repairs and restorations have been made to the Cathedral. The principal of these are, new roofs over the transept, also over the western tower, restorations of columns, mouldings and ornaments in various external parts of the Cathedral; new glazing, and repairing the stone work, in several windows, which had been blocked up with rubble, and had long remained sad disfigurements to the church. Two Norman doorways, of beautiful execution, which had been obscured for ages, have been opened and restored. All the pinnacles, spires, and lofty shafts of the west end have been carefully and appropriately renewed. Perceiving the utilities and beauties of these improvements the dean next directed his attention to the choir, which has long disgraced the Cathedral, and found not only that much required to be done, but that the funds of the foundation were very trifling, and that the general inclinations of the other members were at first averse to embark in an expensive undertaking. Zealous and active, he persevered in urging the measure, and ultimately prevailed on his colleagues to cooperate warmly, and even subscribe liberally. The effects have been already stated, and the result will soon be manifested to the world. Thus whilst these important improvements will reflect honour on the parties who projected them, they will also be highly creditable to the inhabitants of this city, who have liberally subscribed by various donations, as well as to those who have advanced larger sums.

* This MS. is supposed to have been written in Egypt in the eighth century.

List of Prints

ILLUSTRATIVE OF PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

Plates.	Subjects.	Drawn by	Engraved by	Inscribed to	Described.
I.	Ground Plan, and Plans of Parts	H. Ansted	J. Le Keux		70
II.	West Front, View	P. Williams	R. Sands	The Dean	56. 60
III.	Central Pediment of the West Front, figured V. by mistake on the Plate	W. Bartlett	J. Le Keox	Venerable Dr. Strong	59. 63
IV.	View of the Library, or Porch, West Front	G. Cuttermole	J. Le Keux	Spencer Madoo, D. D.	59. 65
V.	West Front, Plan and Section	H. Ansted	J. Le Keux		24.56.60.70
VI.	South Western Tower, Steeple, Pinnacles, Turret, &c.	W. H. Bartlett	J. Le Keux	Ed. Blore, Esq. Arch.	58. 60
VII.	North Western Tower and Transept, View		J. Le Keux	R. Sparling Berry, Esq.	60. 68. 70
VIII.	View of the Cathedral, from N. E.	W. H. Bartlett	J. Le Keux	Heo. Ellison, Esq.	61
IX.	Two Circular Windows and Details in the West Front	E. Blore	J. Le Keux		57. 63
X.	East End, Exterior View	W. Bartlett	J. Le Keux	The Bishop	57. 69
XI.	Elevation of two Compartments of West End of Nave	H. Ansted	J. Le Keux		20. 54. 60
XII.	Niches, Effigies, &c. in the West Front, *title*	E. Blore	J. Le Keux	Rev. J. S. Pratt	57. 79
XIII.	View across S. Transept, looking S. E.	W. H. Bartlett	J. Le Keox	Ven. Archd. Bonney	20. 66
XIV.	Transept, N. to S. looking East, half Section and half Elevation	H. Ansted	J. Le Keux	A. Salvin, Esq. Arch.	20. 68. 71
XV.	South Aile of the Choir	W. H. Bartlett	W. Wallis	Rev. John Parsons	20. 57. 72
XVI.	East End, interior View, looking South	R. Cattermole.	W. Woolnoth	Rev. Thos. S. Hughes	20. 67
	Gateway to the Deanery	Bartlett	Brunston		Title-page.

A Chronological Table

OF THE

NAMES AND DATES OF DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE ABBEY CHURCH OF MEDEHAMSTED, NOW CATHEDRAL OF PETERBOROUGH.

Kings.	Abbots.	Date.	Parts of the Building.	Described.
Peada	Saxulphus	655	Founded	2. 5
Edgar	Adulphus	966	New Church	9
Henry I.	Ernulphos	1107	Dormitory, Refectory, and Chapter-hoose	15
	John de Sais	1117	Foundation of the new Church	16
Stephen	Martin de Vecti	1140	Gate to the Monstery, Chancel, Choir, &c.	17
Henry II.	William de Waterville	1160	Transept, founded Becket's Chapel, part of the great Tower, Cloister covered with Lead, ordered and disposed the Choir, and built the *Domus Infirmorum*	20
	Benedict	1180	Nave	20
John	Robert de Lyndeseye	1214	Glazing of thirty-nine Windows, Lavatory in the Cloisters	22
Henry III.	Ditto	About 1220	Western Front	56
	Waller de St. Edmunds	1233	West Transept	
	John de Caleto	1248	Infirmary	23
Edward II.	Richard de London	1272	Lody Chapel on the North side of Choir	24
	Godfrey de Croyland	1299	Gatehouse to the Abbey	24
Henry VI.	Richard Aston	1438	New Building at East End of Church	25. 57
Henry VII.	Thos Kirtoo	1496	Entrance Gateway to Deanery, Heaven's Gate in the Palace	26. 59.

INDEX.

ABBOTS of Medehamsted, &c. Saxulph, 4, 5; Adulpb, 10; Kenulph, 11; Arwinus, 12; Leofric, 12; Brando, 13; Thorold, 13; Godric, Matthias, and Ernulphus, 15; John de Sais, 16; Angeli de Vecti, 17; de Waterville, 19; Benedict, 20; Andreas, 21; Acharius, 21; de Lyndesey, de Holderness, de Ramsey, and de St. Edmund, 22; de Caleto and de Sutton, 23; de London and de Woodford, 24; Bothehy, Mercot, Genge, and Aston, 25; Kirton, Ramsey, and Chamhers, 26.

Adulph, first abhot of this monastery, 10.

Altars and chapels, at the dissolution, 30—32.

Architecture, Egyptian, Grecian, Roman, and Christian, remarks on, 69.

————, Christian, remarks on the term, 69.

Athelwold, a constructor or huilder, 9.

Bentham, his History of Ely noticed, and its embellishments, *preface*, vii. 32.

Benedict, Abhot, his huildings, &c., 20. 54.

BISHOPS OF PETERBOROUGH. Chamhers, 26; Pole, 33; Scamhler, 33, 34; Howland and Dove, 34; Pierce, Lindsell, Dee, and Towers, 35; Laney, 38; Henshaw and Lloyd, 39; White and Cumherland, 40; Kennett, 42; Clavering and Tbomas, 46; Terrick, 47; Lamh and Hinchliffe, 48; Madan and Parsons, 49; Marsh, 50.

Bishops, list of, 82.

Brachiam, remarks on, 55.

Bridge across the Nen, 24.

Burgh, etymology of, old name of Peterhorough, famous in the time of William I. 11.

CATHEDRAL, foundation and estahlishment of, 27. 32; defaced and injured by Cromwell's soldiers, 36—38; Lady Chapel destroyed, 38.

————, historical and descriptive account of the huilding, and architectural character of the church, chap. iii., 51; neglect of writers respecting buildings, 51; a truly Norman specimen of architecture, 53; new church built, 53; altar end and cbancel huilt, 54; nave, 54; painted ceiling, 54; windows glazed, 55; gate, 55; west front, remarks on, 56; great steeple, 57; central porch, 57; new buildings at east end, 57; environs of the cathedral, cemetery, &c. and distant views of, 58; (see Minster.)

Cathedrals, remarks on the historians of, and of their patrons, vii.

Carter, John, gave designs for organ screen, choir, &c., 73; his sketches in possession of the author, 73.

Chapels at the time of dissolution, 31, 32.

Chambers, Bp. remarks on, and on the dissolution of the abbey, 27—29.

Choir, new fittings up, now in progress,—from designs by E. Blore, 75.

——, suhscribers to, 76.

Cloister covered with lead, 20; described, 67.

Cumherland, Bp. memoir of, 40.

Danes invade and plunder tbe monastery, 7; curhed by Alfred, 9.

DEANS, anecdotes of Fletcher, Nevile, Palmer, Clayton, Raiuhow, Duport, Patrick, Freeman, Reynolds, Mandeville, Peckard, Kipling, Monk, 84.

Deans of Peterborough, list of, and accounts of, 83.

Dean Monk, dedication to, iii.; account of his reparations and improvements to the cathedral, 74. 85.

Elsinus, Abbot, collector of relics, 12.

Font first placed in the cathedral, 35.

Furniture and fittings up of the church at the dissolution, 30.

Gate-house to the abbey, 24; to the close, 20.

Infirmary built, 23. 56.

Katherine of Arragon buried in the cathedral, 26; remarks on, 79.
Kennett, White, Bp. memoir of, 42.

Lady Chapel, 56.
Lavatories, 22. 67.
Legatine constitutions of Otto, 22.

Mary Queen of Scots, 34; remarks on her character and interment, 79.
Medehamsted, antient name of Peterborough, etymology, 1; first monastery, or minster, founded here, 2, 3.
————, very rich in Wulfere's time, 4.
Mercia, extent of, 2.
MINSTER, or CHURCH, founded here, 3—5; destroyed in 870, rebuilt 966, 9; enclosed with a wall, 11; church plundered, 15; dormitory, refectory, and chapter-house, built 1107, 15; new church founded 1117, 16; parts of choir and monastery burnt, 16; increased by de Vecti and gateway built, 17; foundation of Becket's chapel, covering of cloister, transept by Waterville, 20; Becket's chapel finished, great gateway, St. Nicholas chapel, and nave of church, 20; lavatory made, thirty-nine windows glazed, 22; church dedicated in 1238, 23; great steeple, lady chapel by Prior Paris, 24; great gate-house, 24; new building at east end of church, 26; gateway to deanery, 26; measurements of the church, 32; (see Cathedral.)
Monasteries, their influence and suppression, remarks on, 38.
Monument, antient, to the murdered monks, 8.
Monuments in the church, remarks on, 78.
Mount Thorold raised, 14; pulled down, 17.

Norman architecture and Normans, remarks on, 53.

Oswald, sanctity of, his miraculous arm, 12.

Patrick, Dean, remarks on, 84.
Peada, king of Mercia, founder of the monastery, 2—4.
Peterborough a vice-papal see, 7—10; called Gildenburgh, 10; situation and features of the city, 58.

Repairs and embellishments of the cathedral, 72. 85.
Relics, number and character of, at Medehamsted, 11, 12.

Sais, John de, abbot, founder of a new church, 16.
Saxon Heptarchy, or kingdoms, 2.
Scarlett, the sexton, portrait of, 80.
See of Peterborough, 32.
Slyp, remarks on, 67.
Sparke, Rev. Joseph, account of, and his "*Historiæ Anglice*," 46.
Swapham, his MS. history, 2; saved from Cromwell's soldiers, 36.

Waterville, William de, abbot, his buildings, 19. 54.
West front, remarks on its date, 56; description of, 60—65.
Wulfere, Mercian king, his works at Peterburg, 4, 5.

FINIS.

C. and C. Whittingham, Chiswick.

THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

THE ABBEY, AND CATHEDRAL CHURCH

OF

Gloucester:

ILLUSTRATED BY

A SERIES OF ENGRAVINGS

OF

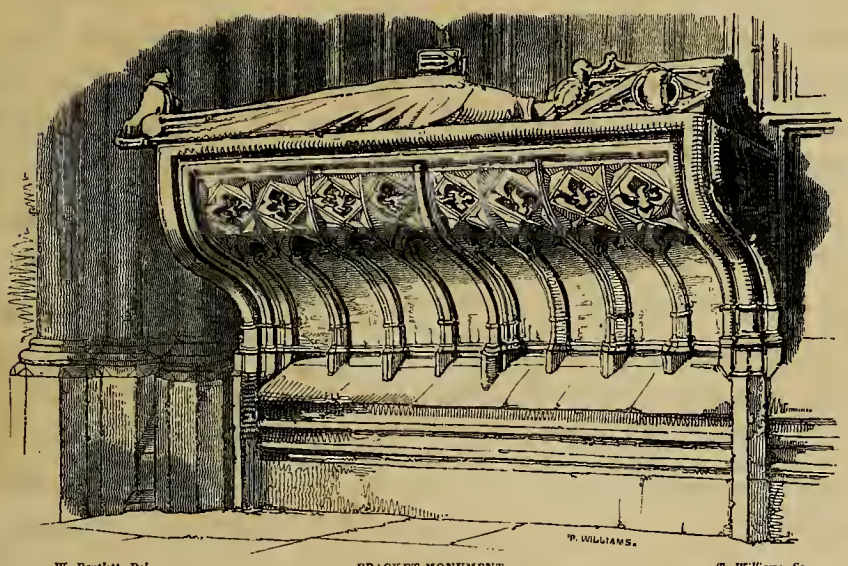
VIEWS, ELEVATIONS, PLANS, AND DETAILS OF THAT EDIFICE;

WITH

Biographical Anecdotes of Eminent Persons connected with the Establishment.

BY JOHN BRITTON, F.S.A. M.R.S.L.

AND MEMBER OF OTHER ENGLISH, FOREIGN, AND SCOTCH SOCIETIES.



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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN, K. T.

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
ETC. ETC. ETC.

MY LORD,

ALTHOUGH at the present time your Lordship must be anxiously and laudably occupied in the arduous duties of an office which has been confided to you by our revered Sovereign, I cannot doubt but your Lordship will occasionally advert to those archæological studies which, at an earlier period of life, furnished both amusement and interest. In travelling over part of the continent, with your esteemed and enlightened friend, the late Mr. Whittington, your Lordship must have imbibed a love for that intricate and picturesque architecture miscalled Gothic; and the "Inquiry into the Principles of Beauty in Grecian Architecture," from your Lordship's pen, manifests not only much partiality for the subject, but shews a mind qualified to appreciate this useful and important branch of the fine arts.

The *English Cathedrals* are the most interesting objects of our country; for, whilst they exhibit to the Artist and Antiquary so many scientific parts for study, and so many beautiful features to admire, they furnish to every thinking observer a fertile theme for inquiry, for reflection, and for comment. In architectural design and construction they are replete with fancy and skill; in their

component members they display endless varieties and beauties, whilst, in their historical and biographical relations, they involve events of paramount interest, and personages of the highest dignity and estimation.

A recent lamentable event has directed public attention to the subject of Cathedral Architecture, and its adornments. The conflagration of the choir and stall-work of York Minster is a surprising event for these times; although we find that many of the Cathedrals of antiquity were often materially injured or destroyed by fire. In order to preserve the finest buildings of the country inviolate against tasteless alterations, and the ruin arising from neglect, I respectfully recommend to your Lordship's most serious attention the expediency of appointing a national establishment for the purpose; and remain,

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,

JOHN BRITTON.

March 5, 1829.

PREFACE.

THE present volume, being the eleventh* of a series illustrative of the architecture and history of the English Cathedrals, is at length offered to the patronage and criticism of the public, after a delay more than commonly tedious and embarrassing to its author. Although he is the principal mover and instrument in such a work, he is dependent on, and at the mercy of other co-operating powers. He may be zealous and indefatigable in adopting measures, and making exertions; but he can only advance to certain points by himself, and must then wait the convenience and inclinations of other persons before he can bring his work to a close. He is liable to disappointment, delay, and mortification from colleagues and agents, whilst he is alike subject to the common vicissitudes and dangers of other men; any of these things may not only retard his progress, but wholly suspend or terminate his proceedings. Unlike the merchant, the tradesman, and many professional persons, whose business may be performed by clerk or deputy, the antiquarian author cannot resort to such assistance, in case of personal incapacity; he cannot command a substitute with the same sentiments, the same knowledge of resources and technicalities, the same inclination, zeal, and habits as himself; and he must therefore either delay or entirely relinquish his work. The author of the Cathedral Antiquities has had all these reflections forced on him often, and experienced many tantalizing disappointments during the progress of the publication: but in the execution of no one Cathedral has his losses and personal privations

* These are SALISBURY, NORWICH, WINCHESTER, YORK, LICHFIELD, OXFORD, CANTERBURY, WELLS, EXETER, PETERBOROUGH, and GLOUCESTER, the whole containing two hundred and forty engravings, with historical and descriptive accounts of each edifice. Whilst these illustrations display almost every variety of style, ornament, and design belonging to the Christian Architecture of England, the accompanying letter-press embraces an extensive mass of historical, archæological, and biographical informatiou.

been so great as in that of Gloucester. He commenced it in 1826, with pleasing hopes and under cheering auspices: two of his pupils were diligently employed in measuring and making sketches of the edifice during the summers of 1826 and 1827; one of whom has since fallen a victim to that insidious disease, consumption. In the autumn of the latter year he visited the city, to make his final survey and examination of the Cathedral, when he experienced a compound fracture of the right leg, and was confined to bed for some weeks, at a place remote from home, but where he fortunately met with many kind and generous Samaritans. These, with a tolerably happy disposition, which always teaches him "to bear the ills we have" with firmness and patience, and rather look forward hopingly and confidently, than rail at fortune, and brood over an inevitable sorrow, supported and cheered him through many a weary day and sleepless night, till the time arrived when he was enabled to leave his prison-house, but again destined to encounter new difficulties and new dangers. None but those who have experienced long and painful confinement can know the exultation and joyous sentiment of the first emancipation from it—the first glance of the green fields and blooming flowers—the melody of the careless songsters of the grove—the ever varying aspect and effects of the sky—and the self assurance of returning health: all of which are sources of real delight, whilst many other reflections pass through the mind to adorn and enlighten the future, by contrasting it with the past.

The impositions and extortionate charges of inn-keepers have been often complained of and reprobated; but few humane persons would scarcely credit the tale, that there are some of them in the present enlightened age who are heartless and cruel enough to put a helpless man, with fractured bones, into broken, damp, and insecure post chaises; and thus subject him not only to the risk of bodily illness, but place him in imminent danger. From Northleach to London, the author was doomed to travel in four of those battered vehicles, all bad, amidst torrents of rain, part of which ran through the carriage, and, to enhance his misery, he was continually apprehensive of being overturned, and thereby having other bones broken, or deprived of life. Nearly

exhausted with fatigue and dread, he *entreated* the portly and proud landlord of a gay inn at Wycombe to provide him with a sound and roomy carriage to convey him to London, his last stage. Strange to say, and brutal as it must appear, he was lifted into one more crazy, broken, and dangerous than either of the former, from which he had escaped without bodily injury, though not without much painful anxiety and horror. The fanatic might say on this occasion, as on the author's release from a perilous situation, when he and his horse were mutually struggling to extricate themselves from a deep ditch, and when the heels of the latter frequently passed within a few inches of his head—that it was miraculous!! but nature never deals in miracles. In surmounting both these dangers, in passing through such a scene of helplessness and pain, with only a few trifling impositions, and in being restored to health and his wonted activity, with two legs to stand on, though not exactly a pair, he cannot but feel grateful and sincerely happy. To the many persons who humanely came forward to comfort and cheer a maimed stranger, he tenders and records his heartfelt thanks: and to the unfeeling and mercenary, whom he had the misfortune to meet with, he pronounces his forgiveness. These personal troubles having been produced in the prosecution of the History of Gloucester Cathedral, are here narrated, as a statement of an unfortunate disaster, which has been surmounted, and to inspire other persons under similar circumstances with confidence and hope.

It is the duty, as well as pleasure of the author to record, in this place, the names of those gentlemen to whom he has been considerably indebted for literary aid, correct information, and personal civilities in the execution of this volume. These are the Right Reverend the Bishop of the Diocess, the Honourable and very Reverend the Dean, and the Reverend the Chapter, who liberally gave access to the records in their possession; to Dr. Baron, B. Bonnor, Esq., R. Shrapnell, Esq., E. W. Brayley, Esq., the Rev. John Webb, M. A., and the Rev. John Bishop, M. A. To the two latter gentlemen, in particular, he is under great obligations. They are both attached to the Cathedral, not only professionally, but by the sympathy of zealous, kindly, liberal minds.

Solicitous to see justice done to an edifice which they admire and revere, they have been indefatigable in searching for and communicating every fact they could obtain. The Essay, at the end of the volume, is from the pen of one of these gentlemen, who in this, as in all his other writings, has manifested the most fastidious attention to the letter, and the most refined taste in appreciating the spirit of history. Thus aided, thus supported, the Author submits his work to his friends and the public with more than usual consolation and confidence. If it be not so copious in biographical information and antiquarian disquisition as some readers may wish and expect, it should be observed, that the writer could have swelled the volume to double its size more easily than to have selected and compressed the materials to their present compass. In the descriptive part he might have greatly enlarged the accounts, and have entered into more technical minutiæ respecting the composition, design, ornaments, construction, and effects of the whole building, and of its various component parts. For example, were he actuated by the feelings and practices of some of his brother antiquaries, he would find no difficulty in occupying a tolerably-sized volume with a biographical, architectural, and critical essay on the monument of Edward the Second. But his aim and practice on the present, as on former occasions, has been to condense rather than to expand his materials—to select and exemplify prominent facts in biography and history, and to explain briefly, but clearly, all the architectural varieties and characteristics of the Cathedral. It is his wish to make the descriptions and engravings mutually illustrate each other, and jointly convey clear and correct ideas to the mind of the reader. This, however, can never be done without the aid of plans, elevations, and sections. These, and these only, furnish accurate information of the true forms, proportions, and ornaments of buildings. For want of this species of illustration the older writers on Christian, or ecclesiastical architecture, were confused and imperfect both in language and ideas: they embarrassed themselves and their readers, and hence the cause of much of the controversy and difference of opinion which pervade their works.

THE

History and Antiquities

OF

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

Chap. I.

ORIGIN AND FOUNDATION OF THE MONASTERY OF ST. PETER, AT GLOUCESTER, WITH BRIEF HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE SAME TO ITS DISSOLUTION.

HENRY the Eighth, though detestable as a remorseless tyrant and murderer, produced an important revolution in this kingdom by the bold and daring measure of dissolving the monasteries. The richly endowed Abbey of St. Peter, at Gloucester, was broken up among the number, its idle and useless monks dispersed, and its revenues and buildings, instead of being sold or granted to lay purposes, were appropriated to a new body of Protestant clergy, under the respective titles of Bishop, Dean, Prebendaries, &c. Hence the origin of the See of Gloucester, and the conversion of the monastic church to a cathedral. The new city, at that time, must have presented a singularly contrasted scene: by shewing its long established nest of monkish drones

*** The above initial is copied from a large illuminated letter to "the charter of foundation of the city of Gloucester, bishopric, and chapter," in the possession of the Corporation of Gloucester. It is the letter H, with a representation of Henry VIII. presenting the charter to Wakeman, Bishop of Gloucester, and his Clergy.

dispersed, and sent into the world to seek a livelihood, and a new order and class of religious persons introduced to occupy their places, who exercised different modes of worship and discipline, and manifested dissimilar habits, customs, and manners. Such a change must have been striking to the inhabitants of the city. In narrating a few historical particulars of the Abbey and See, we shall be enabled to shew some of these contrasts and varied changes.

The city of Gloucester offers to the antiquary and historian a theme replete with interest. Without adverting to its origin and fabled history under the Britons, it cannot be doubted that it was a Roman station of some extent and importance, and that it was occupied by the Anglo Saxons, and still improved and augmented under the dynasty of the Normans. The annals of the antient town and modern city have been laboriously and copiously narrated by Sir Robert Atkins, Rudder, Rudge, Fosbrooke, and other minor topographers; but the history of the Abbey, See, and Church have never been critically investigated and recorded. It will be the duty as well as the pleasure of the author to attempt this task on the present occasion: and he hopes to render it at once faithful and interesting. The Annals of the Abbey have been fully detailed by some of the Chroniclers of the house, from whose manuscripts we shall derive our principal facts.

In writing the early history of our religious edifices, it is often difficult, and sometimes utterly impossible, to reconcile the numerous inaccuracies and discrepancies of the monkish annalists, men to whom alone, in those remote ages, knowledge was confined, and who being at once the recorders of national affairs and the historians of their own deeds, found it their interest rather to mislead and deceive the unlearned, than to impart to them the facts of which they were the depositories. The early writers on Gloucester are not exempted from this reproach, and it requires much consideration to adduce those circumstances on which alone a reasonable reliance can be placed. Before, however, entering into details, it may be expedient, briefly to refer to the two principal motives which led to the foundation and endowment of the numerous religious houses erected in this kingdom.

The Saxon kings, on their conversion to Christianity, in order to propa-

gate the doctrines to which they were themselves converts, found it necessary to impress their subjects with an idea of the superior importance of the new creed to the ceremonies of Paganism, and that too in a semi-barbarous age, when the establishment of a religious house was considered an expiation for the greatest of crimes, and also a peace offering to their Maker; this was one, but not the chief cause of these foundations, for when the doctrine of tithes came to be generally recognised, as it was in the eighth century, the lords of manors and seignories thought it preferable to found and endow some religious order on their own lands, to which the tithes of their demesnes might be paid, and from which they received an equivocal compensation in the shape of prayers and masses, than to be compelled to pay them to some distant monastery, of whose inmates they knew nothing, and over whose possessions they had no control.

Several writers, and particularly Leland, make mention of Aldad, or Elded, as a bishop of Gloucester, in the year 490; and of Theonus, another bishop, who forsook it in the year 553, and became bishop of London[1]. He also states that Vespasian, the lieutenant of Claudius Cæsar in this kingdom, was buried at Gloucester, in a temple there built to the honour of Claudius[2]. This, evidently, was not the Convent of St. Peter, for there is little doubt but that Wulphere, the sixth of the Mercian kings, who, after murdering his two sons, Wulfad and Rufine, for adopting the Christian faith, had himself become a convert[3], was the founder of this house (probably in expiation of his crime) about the middle of the seventh century. By the *Gloucester Chronicle* it appears that, in the year of our Lord 681, Ethelred, King of the Mercians, and third son of Penda, and brother of Wulphere, whom he succeeded, gave to two of his ministers of noble race, Osric, and his brother Oswald, large possessions in the province of the Wiccii, viz. to Osric the town of Gloucester, with certain lands in that county; and to Oswald large possessions in Pershore[4]. Osric having obtained the permission of King Ethelred, to whom he was viceroy, or "sub-regulus," appears to have

[1] Willis's Account of Cathedrals, v. i. p. 692.

[2] Leland's Collectanea. III. 23.

[3] Strutt's Chronicle of England, I. 165.

[4] Cott. MS. British Museum, Domitian, A. 6. Also a corresponding MS. in the archives of the Cathedral at Gloucester.

completed the foundation for nuns, which Wulphere had begun, and which was dedicated by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bosel, Bishop of Worcester, to Saint Peter the Apostle[5].

The first Abbess was Kyneburga, or Kenburg, sister of Osric, the founder, and wife of Aldred, King of Northumberland[6], who was consecrated by Bosel, Bishop of Worcester, and having governed the nunnery for twenty-nine years, she died, and was buried before the altar of St. Petronilla, near her brother Osric[7].

Eadburga, who had been the wife of Wulphere, King of Mercia, after the death of her husband assumed the veil in this nunnery, and was consecrated as Abbess by Egwin, or Edwin, Bishop of Worcester, in 710: she presided twenty-five years, and was buried near her predecessor[8].

Eva, her successor, the widow of Wulphere, son of King Penda, was consecrated in 735, by Wilfred, Bishop of Worcester; her administration lasted for thirty-three years, during which time she acquired large possessions, and procured confirmations of them in different synods. She died in the year 767[9].

With Eva, according to the Abbey Chronicle, expired the office of Abbess; for, after her decease, and during the perpetual state of war and discord in which the kingdom was involved by the Kings of the Heptarchy, the nuns were deflowered and dispersed, and the convent remained without a government of any kind until the year 821[10]. About that period, Beornulph,

[5] Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8. In Froucester's Manuscript, is King Æthelred's gift to Osric, in 671; and in other MSS. it is said that King Wulphere laid the foundation of the nunnery here in 672, and dying, left the finishing thereof to Ethelred, his successor in the kingdom of Mercia, who appointed him to see it completed. Leland, in his Itinerary, iv. 75, says that Osric built it with licence from King Ethelred; and Osric is ever reputed to be the founder of this nunnery. Furney's MSS.

[6] Mon. Ang. new edit. vol. i. p. 531.

[7] Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8. fol. 126. Osric died in the year 729, and was first interred in Saint Petronilla's Chapel, afterwards removed into the Chapel of our Lady, and in Abbot Parker's time laid under a monument of freestone on the north side of the high altar, at the foot whereof, against the wall, is the following inscription:—"Osricus rex primus fundator hujus monasterii, 681." Furney's MSS.

[8] Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8. fol. 126.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Lel. Itin. v. iv. 76; also Cott. MS. ut supra.

or Bernulph, King of Mercia, repaired it, and placed therein secular priests, on whom he bestowed part of the antient possessions of the nuns [11]; and, in the year 862, he confirmed to them the lands which had been formerly granted by the Kings, Ethelred, Ethelbald, Offa, Kenwolf, and other persons. He also, by the consent of his great council, exempted the monastery, with its appurtenances and dependencies, from all secular service, on condition that prayers should be held in that church for himself and his heirs for ever [12].

The secular priests continued in possession until the year 1022, when King Canute, at the instigation of Wolstan, Bishop of Worcester, and afterwards Archbishop of York, expelled them, and introduced Benedictine Monks [13]; to whom the governor and inhabitants of Gloucester were at first so averse, that, in the year 1033, Wolphinus, or Ulphin le Rue, who was then governor of the town, slew seven of them between Churcham and Gloucester. In the following year, in consequence of this, he was constrained to give lands for the maintenance of as many monks as he had slain; and on returning home from the Papal See (to which he had probably been for absolution), appropriated Churcham and Highnam to that purpose [14].

Edric.—In the year 1022, Edric, who it appears had been one of the secular priests recently expelled, was consecrated as Abbot by Bishop Wolstan. He is accused of having wasted the possessions of the Abbey, and of having wrongfully alienated the manors of Beggleworth (q. Badgworth) and Hatherly [15], but most probably on insufficient grounds. This Abbot

[11] Mon. Ang. new edit. vol. i. p. 531. [12] Cott. MSS. Dom. A. 8.

[13] Tanner's Notitia, p. 137.

[14] Lel. Itin. v. iv. 76; also Cott. MS. ut supr. fol. 144.

[15] Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8. fol. 126. b. This accusation was unjust, if we may believe the deed of alienation, which, being of importance, is given at length:—

"I, Edric, Abbot in *Ealdanhame*, do notify and declare in this writing, that I, in my great necessity, have given up to one *Staniarcot* the lands of *Hegberle* and *Bregawirde*, for the term of his life, and this I have done in consideration of money by him paid, to wit, for fifteen pounds, with which I have redeemed all the other farms of the monastery from that great tax of *heregeld** laid upon all England. Witnesses of these things are, Wulstan, Archbishop of York, and

* A tax paid for the support of the army. Vide Spelman's Glossary.

presided over the monastery thirty-seven years; and on his decease, in 1058, was succeeded by

Wulstan, a monk of Worcester[16], who, by permission of King Edward the Confessor, was consecrated by Aldred, Bishop of Worcester. This Aldred removed the establishment of the monks, by pulling down the old Church[17] (which, according to Fosbrooke, he converted into an infirmary[18]) and founding a new one, dedicated to Saint Peter, at some distance from it, and nearer to the city walls[19]. He afterwards, under pretence of expenses incurred by the building, but in fact for the purpose of extending his profuse hospitality, alienated from the monastery the manors of *Lech (Northleach)*, *Odyngton*, *Standish*, and *Barton*, which, on his promotion to the Archbishopric of York, he annexed to that See[20]. Wulstan died on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in the year 1072[21], he being the first prelate who had attempted that journey by land; and, because he had wasted the possessions of the Abbey, was buried under the yew tree in the plot in the midst of the cloisters at Gloucester[22]. His kinsman and patron, Aldred[23],

Lessius, Bishop of Worcester; Aglaf, an Earl, and the whole congregation of the *old monastery*; and Anna, Abbot, and all the brethren of the monastery of Saint Oswald; and Witriside, governor, and the whole city of Gloucester, and many others, both English (i. e. Anglo Saxons) and Danes. Wherefore, if he who holdeth the lands shall have committed forfeiture, let him make amends of himself and of his own, but let the land be free, and let it be restored again to the monastery after his decease." Cotton. MS. Dom. A. 8.

It is worthy of remark that, in this deed, Edric is styled Abbot in *Ealdenhame*, which signifies *old place*, in contradistinction to St. Oswald's, founded in the year 909, by Elfrida, daughter of King Alfred, who had conveyed thither from Bardney the remains of King Oswald. Anglia Sacra, i. 207. Thom. de Rudborne.

[16] Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8. fol. 127. [17] Mon. Ang. new edit. vol. i. p. 531.

[18] Fosbrooke's "History of the City of Gloucester," p. 159.

[19] Mon. Ang. new edit. vol. i. p. 531. [20] Cott. MS. ut supra. [21] Ibid.

[22] Furney's MSS.

[23] Aldred is conjectured by Willis to have been buried at Gloucester, and he assigns to him that *shelf*, *monument*, or *bracket*, now on the south side of the choir, opposite to Parker's tomb. It is certainly a monument of one of the founders, as appears by the figure holding a building or church in one of its hands. See Vignette in the title page.

died on the same journey[24]. An antient effigy, said to be of this Abbot, is placed on the south side of the choir, "as though he lay in a cratch[25]."

Serlo, who had previously worn the monastic habit in two or three religious establishments in Normandy, was probably introduced to England and advanced to this abbacy by William, Duke of Normandy, to whom he was chaplain[26]. He was appointed to that dignity in the year 1072, by the new monarch; but such was the state of ruin and decay of the Abbey, that on his accession he found only two, or as some say three, adult monks and eight boys[27]. By his own good management, however, and the assistance and cooperation of Odo, the cellarer, he very much augmented the possessions of the house; and by the influence of the king, with whom he was in great favour, recovered from Thomas, Archbishop of York, the manors of Froucester, Colne-St.-Alwyn, and others, which had been alienated in the time of his predecessor[28]. He likewise obtained a thousand days release for the Church. In the year 1088, the monastery was burnt[29], and in the following year, on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, Serlo commenced the *foundation of a new Church*, Robert, Bishop of Hereford, laying the first stone[30]. This was not completed until the year 1100, when it was dedicated with great ceremony by Sampson, Bishop of Worcester, Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, and Henry, Bishop of Bangor[31]; and two years afterwards it was partly destroyed by fire, together with the city[32].

On Palm Sunday, in the year 1095, Thomas, Archbishop of York, appeared in the Chapter House of Gloucester, and made restitution of the manors of Northleach, Odynton, Standish, and Barton, which had been seized by his predecessor, Aldred, thirty years before. This, according to the

[24] Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8. fol. 127.

[25] Lansdowne MS. No. 5, 684, p. 24.

[26] Lel. Itin. v. iv. 76.

[27] Lel. Coll. II. 262.

[28] Cott. MS. ut supr.

[29] Furney's MSS.

[30] Cott. MS. ut supra.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Anglia Sacra, I. 297. Annal. Winton. Free stone (of which the Church is mostly built) has been recently discovered in the Norman wall of the south aile of the nave bearing marks of fire; and this may account for the leaning outwards of that wall.

Gloucester Chronicle, he did with many expressions of penitence, smiting his breast, and falling down on his knees[33].

William the Conqueror, who, in the twentieth year of his reign, spent his Christmas at Gloucester, repaired and increased the monastery, which was in a state of great decay. Serlo, who had obtained from that monarch, and his two sons, William the Second and Henry the First, numerous grants and confirmations of lands and privileges, died in the year 1104, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, leaving in the convent one hundred monks[34]. He was buried under a marble tomb on the south side of the presbytery[35].

Peter, who had for eleven years faithfully discharged the duties of Prior, was, in 1104, created Abbot[36]. He surrounded the Abbey with a stone wall, and enriched the cloisters with numerous books[37]. In his time a dispute arose between the monks of Gloucester, and Remelin, Bishop of Hereford, concerning the removal of the body of Ralph Fitz Anketill, or Auketil, which Bishop Remelin had forcibly taken away. The matter was argued in the presence of King Henry, Archbishop Anselm, Robert, Earl of

[33] Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8. fol. 128.

[34] Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8. fol. 128. William of Malmesbury thus eulogises him: "And that England may not be supposed destitute of virtue, who can pass by Serlo, Abbot of Gloucester, who advanced that place from almost meanness and insignificance to a glorious pitch. All England is acquainted with the considerate rule, professed at Gloucester, which the weak may embrace, and the strong cannot despise. Their leader Serlo's axiom was, '*Moderation in all things.*' Although mild to the good, he was fierce and terrific to the haughty; to corroborate which I shall insert the verses of Godfrey, the Prior, concerning him:—

'The Church's bulwark fell when Serlo died,
Virtue's sharp sword, and Justice's fond pride;
Speaker of truth, no vain discourse he loved,
And pleased the very princes he reproved.
An hasty judgment, or disordered state
Of life or morals were his utter hate.
The third of March was the propitious day
When Serlo winged, through death, to life his way.'"

Will. Malmesb. by Sharpe, 1815, p. 535.

[35] Willis's Mit. Abb. vol. i. p. 113.

[36] Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8.

[37] Cott. MS. ut supra.

Mellent, and many other bishops, abbots, and nobles; when it was decided that the body should be restored. Earl Robert, at the same time, gave sentence that for the future all persons should have right of burial wheresoever they died. To this the whole of the bishops present giving their assent, Remelin surrendered all claims and complaints which he had against the Abbot for the Church of Saint Peter, in Hereford, excepting the ringing of bells before the canons; so that the body was not dug up[38]. Like his predecessor, he made great additions to the monastic revenues, and having governed for seven years, died in 1113.

William, surnamed Godeman, or Godemor[39], a monk of this house[40], the next Abbot, was consecrated in the Cathedral Church of Worcester; and after the performance of the ceremony gave to the sacrist, as a fee, his silken cope and vestment, and made a handsome present to the convent[41]. In his time the Abbey was again burnt: the account of the fire, as given in the Saxon Chronicle, is thus:—"On the 8th day of the ides of March, A°. 1122, the town of Gloucester was on fire; and as the monks were singing mass, the fire also burst from the upper part of the steeple, and burnt all the Minster and all the treasures that were therein, except a few books and three mass hackles[42]." The Abbey Chronicle, however, states that the injury was partial and was easily repaired by the offerings of the bountiful. About this time was assembled by King Henry the First, in a spacious building of this Church, sometimes called the *Long Workhouse*, the first Parliament after the Conquest[43]. William, having obtained considerable donations to the Abbey, and becoming infirm, resigned his office in the year 1130, and retired to St. Paternum, or Llanbadarn, in Wales, where he died, on the 3d of the ides of July[44]; having, prior to his resignation, by consent of the convent, appointed as his successor—

[38] Cott. MSS. Dom. A. 8. [39] Ibid. [40] Annales Winton. Angl. Sac. i. 297.

[41] Angl. Sac. i. 475. It seems to have been customary not only for the Abbots of Gloucester, but for all other Abbots within the diocess of Worcester, to give the sacrist of that church, on their consecration, their vestment, or any garment of value they might happen to wear, and to the convent a sum of money.

[42] Translat. Sax. Chron. by Ingram, p. 342. [43] Lansd. MSS. No. 684, p. 25.

[44] Willis's Mit. Abb. i. p. 113.

Walter de Lacy, his chaplain, who had been a monk in this house from the age of seven years, having been dedicated to religion by his parents, persons of considerable rank[45]. He was consecrated at Worcester, by Simon, bishop of that diocess, on the third of the nones of August, A°. 1131[46]. During his abbacy an agreement was made, in 1134, between him and his monks, and the bishop and chapter of Hereford, respecting the entrance money[47] of St. Peter's, in Hereford, which the canons of that church had held in times past[48]. In the same year, also, Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy, dying at Caerdiff, where he had been prisoner twenty-six years, was brought to this church, to which he had been a great benefactor, and was interred in the middle choir[49], and subsequently a wooden tomb was raised over his grave. Robert of Gloucester, speaking of him, says:—

> Ae Robert Courtehose his bropher, as God would, les þat lyf
> About þre ȝer bỳvore, in prison at Kerdyf,
> And *bỳvore* þe *heȝe auter in* þe *abbeye of Glouecester ybure ys.*
>
> Hearne's Chron. p. 442.

Walter had great interest with King Stephen, who, at his request, in 1138, confirmed to the Convent all the different donations which had been made to it[50]. He died on the 6th of the ides of February, 1139.

Immediately after his decease, two brethren of the monastery were dispatched to Clugny, to Gilbert Foliot, a monk of that convent, and prebendary of Newington in the Cathedral of St. Paul, London[51] (and not, as stated by Fosbrooke, Abbot of Leicester and Archdeacon of Oxford[52]), who, by means of the interest which his kinsman, Milo, Earl of Hereford, had with King Stephen, was appointed to preside over this Abbey. He was

[45] Cott. MSS. Dom. A. 8.

[46] Willis's Mit. Abb. i. 113.

[47] A fee paid by the incumbent upon taking possession "introitus;" hence fees are called in some instances "entrance" to this day.

[48] Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8.

[49] Lansd. MSS. N. 684, p. 25.

[50] Cott. MS. ut supr.

[51] Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 532.

[52] History of Gloucester, p. 164.

consecrated on the third of the ides of June, 1139, by Robert de Betun, Bishop of Hereford, on whose decease, his patron and tutor, Becket, was instrumental in raising him to that see, to which he succeeded in 1149[53], and was thence translated to London[54]; being, as it is said, the first bishop who had ever been canonically translated from one diocess to another[55]. He was a man of considerable talents, as appears by his official letters, but was in the constant habit of traducing his superiors[56]. In the contentions between the King and Becket, he sided with the former; and, as some affirm, was instrumental to the assassination of the latter. In 1143 a dispute arose between this Abbey and the newly established priory of Lanthony, respecting the right of burial.

After Foliot's promotion to the See of Hereford, HAMELINE, the sub-prior, was, on the 6th of the calends of October, 1148, elected, and was consecrated by Simon, Bishop of Worcester, in December following. During his time an old dispute was revived between the church of York and the monks of Gloucester, respecting the manors of Northleach, Standish, and Barton, to which the archbishop still preferred a claim, notwithstanding they had been restored by his predecessor, Thomas, after the expiration of the term for which they were mortgaged. Hameline was necessitated to visit the court of Rome, to defend the rights of his monastery, which he did with such ability and success, that the Bishops of Chichester and Lincoln, to whom the dispute was referred by Pope Eugenius, gave sentence in his favour[57]. In 1168, the body of a Christian boy named Harald, supposed to have been murdered by the Jews, was found in the Severn by some fishermen, and was buried with great pomp before the altars of St. Edmund and St. Edward the Confessor, on the north side of the Church of St. Peter. Between the years 1163 and 1179, Roger, Bishop of Worcester, was celebrating mass before the high altar of the Abbey, when the north-western tower, owing to a defect in

[53] Annal. Wigorn, Angl. Sac. i. 475.

[54] Mon. Ang. ut supr. from Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. i. 12.

[55] Lel. de Scriptor, vol. ii. p. 215.

[56] Godwin's De Presulibus Angl. p. 178.

[57] Furney's MSS.

the foundation, fell down suddenly, just as he was concluding the service[58]. After the death of Hameline, which occurred on the 6th of the ides of March, 1179;

Thomas Carbonel, Prior of Hereford (or, according to Furney, of St. Guthlac's, near that town), was elected Abbot in the month of October following. On the fifth of the ides of May, 1190, a considerable portion of the town of Gloucester was burnt, including the greater part of the offices in the court yard of the Abbey, as well as the two churches of St. Mary, before the Abbey gate, and St. Oswald's, as far as the walls[59]. Richard the First, about this time, having been taken prisoner by the Duke of Austria, the monks of Gloucester were compelled to sell their chalices and silver vessels, to enable them to pay their quota toward his ransom. In 1195, Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, deposed Robert, Abbot of Tournay, and kept him here imprisoned, and in fetters, for eighteen months[60]. In 1204 the Abbey was injured by lightning[61]; and in the month of July, in the following year[62], Carbonel died, and was succeeded by

Henry Blond, or *Blunt*, Prior of the Abbey, who was consecrated by Mauger, Bishop of Worcester, on Michaelmas day[63], and was, in the same month, installed by John, Archbishop of Dublin. In 1207, began the general interdict throughout England, owing to the quarrel which had arisen between King John and Pope Innocent, respecting Stephen Langton,

[58] Giraldus Cambrensis. Angl. Sac. ii. 428. Under the patronage of Hameline, flourished Osborn, a monk of Gloucester, who wrote several treatises on divinity, which, by command of King Henry the Eighth, were removed from the conventual library of Gloucester to the royal library at London. Vide Nicolas's "Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VIII." 8vo. 1828.

[59] That is to say, the fire consumed the wood work of those two churches; with respect to that of *St. Mary's, ante portam*, the Norman pillars and walls remained till lately, and were removed only in 1825, when a great part of that church was rebuilt. It is possible, however, that this church might have been reconstructed in the Norman style after 1190; but that the foundations were of very ancient date is certain, from the fact of their having been laid upon a *Roman pavement*, which was developed when the body of the church was taken down. This expression of the Chronicle, "as far as the walls," seems to signify as far as the wall next St. Oswald's, mentioned hereafter.

[60] Scriptor. Post. Bed. 430, b.

[61] Furney's MSS.

[62] Annal. Wigorn. Angl. Sac. i. 479.

[63] Ibid.

Archbishop of Canterbury. During the interdict the monks of Gloucester did not allow their vicars to perform the Sunday duties in the churches dependant upon the Abbey; and three years afterwards King John made a *cursed* tallage (as the Chronicler emphatically calls it) upon all the churches of England. The same authority says he took from the Abbey of Gloucester five hundred marks, and one hundred waggons, with eight horses each, for carrying his baggage. On St. Alban's day, in 1214, the town of Gloucester was in a great measure destroyed by fire; at which time, according to the Monasticon, the Abbey suffered considerably. King Henry the Third, who was then a youth of only nine years of age, was crowned with great splendour in the Abbey Church on the 28th of October, 1216: and about that time a *wall* was built between the Abbey and the Priory of St. Oswald's. In the second year, following, was terminated the suit which had been instituted against the monks of St. Peter's by the prior and canons of St. Oswald's, respecting the church of St. John, at the north gate, the chapel of St. Bridget, and the lands within the wall of the Abbey, adjoining the refectory, the larder, and the bakehouse, to the new wall next St. Oswald's[64]; and also respecting certain tithes which were confirmed to the Abbey, on payment of a rent of twenty shillings to St. Oswald's Priory. In 1222, this abbot was appointed a president of the chapter of Benedictines at Bermondsey[65]; and in the same year was commenced the *rebuilding of the tower* which had fallen down in the time of Hameline, his predecessor. The management of the work was committed to *Helias*, the sacrist. It appears from the Monasticon, that about this time the Abbey was again injured by fire[66]. The Abbey Chronicle details the following particulars respecting

[64] The chapel of St. Bridget, described in Abbey deeds as the cell of infirm monks, probably stood between the prebendal house, near the gate of the infirmary, and the entrance to the small cloisters, as appears from vestiges of early English arches, on the outside of the building occupied as tenements, opposite the house of the organist. This was within the wall of the Abbey. The garden alluded to is that behind the said prebendal house. The remains of the refectory, next St. Oswald's, are most probably those which are seen in the garden, and about the prebendal house, on the western side of the little cloister; and his kitchen and premises probably contain the remains of the larder and the bake-house.

[65] Mon. Ang. new edit. vol. i. p. 533.

[66] It seems difficult to account for these frequent fires: yet it should be remembered, that

two destructive fires in the town. On the seventeenth of the calends of August, 1222, the whole parish of St. Mary, before the gate of the Abbey, together with part of the bake-house and brew-house, and the house between the gate and the stable[67], and both sides of the great street, from St. Nicholas to the bridge, and all the small streets, as far as the Barton, were burnt down. Again, on the twelfth of the calends of June, in the following year, a fire raged from Castle Street to the Lich Gate; and on the Thursday following another broke out near the Great Cross, and consumed the whole street of the shoemakers and drapers, with the church of St. Mary de Grace Love, and part of the church of the Holy Trinity, to the place where the former fire ended. This Abbot dying on the tenth of the calends of September, 1224, was succeeded by

Thomas de Bredon, the Prior, who received the benediction at Worcester (or, according to the Chronicle, at Kidderminster), on St. Maurice's day[68]. During his administration, which lasted only four years, the only event connected with the history of the Abbey appears to be the foundation of *St. Mary's Chapel*, by Ralph de Wylington, who gave a rent for the support of two priests, to celebrate divine service there for ever[69]: of this building more will hereafter be given.

The next Abbot was Henry Foliot, or Foleth, Prior of Bromfeld (a cell dependant on the monastery), who received the benediction from the Bishop of Worcester, and was installed in the customary manner by the Archdeacon of Gloucester, in 1228. One of the first acts of his abbacy was to enter into

Gloucester suffered much in the earlier part of its history, during the wars between the Saxons and the Britons, and again in the bloody skirmishes of Canute and Edmund Ironside, and at a later period, in the contest between King Henry I. and Robert, Duke of Normandy; it is also to be observed, that there was abundance of wood in the neighbourhood, both in the forest of Dean and at Corse Lawn; this latter place is said to have furnished the chestnut timber so frequently found in the old buildings of Gloucester, which no doubt formerly consisted almost entirely of wooden houses.

[67] The brew-house and stable, as well as the bake-house, and other offices of the Abbey were on the north west side of the church, beyond the refectory, and here was also the Abbey mill; the place where it stood is still commonly known by the appellation of Miller's Green, though it has since obtained the title of Palace Yard.

[68] Annal. Wigorn. Angl. Sac. i. 486.

[69] Ibid.

a compromise with Ralph de Wylington, and Olympias his wife, respecting the Chapel of St. Mary, which they had founded in the Abbey of St. Peter[70]. He is stated to have made various additions and improvements to the Abbey. In 1237 died Elias de Lideford, the sacrist, who rebuilt the *Tower* which had fallen down in the time of Hameline; he also constructed the stalls of the monks; and, according to Furney, made an aqueduct to serve the convent with water, though by the Abbey Chronicle he appears to have repaired it only. Certain it is that, in 1242, the *new roof* in the *nave of the church* was completed, not, as at first, by the help of common workmen, but by "the spirited exertions of the monks;" and in the same year a *new tower* was begun, on the south side, at the west end of the church, by Walter de St. John, the then prior.

On the fourteenth of the calends of October, 1239, the Abbey Church was re-dedicated to St. Peter, by Walter de Cantelupe, Bishop of Worcester, in the presence of a numerous assemblage. The Bishop, on this occasion, granted to the church eleven days of *relaxation*, and commanded that the anniversary of the dedication should be kept as solemnly as the Lord's day by all the people of Gloucester. In the time of this Abbot the convent seems to have been very lax in its discipline; and it appears that, in 1230, he appropriated an annual rent of twenty marks out of the church of Newburgh, in Monmouthshire, "*ad caritates conventûs, de vino Gallico,*" that is, for the members of the convent to drink, in commemoration of their founders and benefactors. The Bishop of Worcester visited the convent in 1239, when a question arose as to his right of visitation, but it was at length acknowledged

[70] Fosbrooke's Hist. of Glouces. p. 166, from Reg. Abb. Glouc. No. 1113. MSS. Prynn. By this agreement the Abbot and Convent obliged themselves to find two chaplains to pray for the souls of the founders, for ever. These chaplains were to have a clerk attendant upon them, and were to receive a salary of two marks and a half yearly, and to have for cheese and candles 18*d.* a year; a corrody of . . . . . from the cellarer, two monks' loaves, a knight's loaf, three gallons of beer, of the Convent, and a fourth gallon of the second beer, if their clerk should come for it at the time appointed; from the kitchen they were to have three dishes of the better broth of the convent; and on flesh days, two messes of flesh, one of one sort and one of another: they were to dwell in the Abbey, in the lodging built by the said Ralph, which the convent were to repair, as well as the chapel; they were also to have vessels from the bakehouse; and if any of their corrody should be withholden, they were to complain to the warden of the chapel, who would cause amends to be made by the prior.

by the convent in chapter, that he might make this singular inquisition *ex officiò*[71]: three years afterwards he again visited the convent, when it seems that the disorders there had arisen to a very high pitch; for, having made a particular examination, and corrected such things as were necessary, he caused the Prior, and several others, to be removed[72]. Foliot was nevertheless a great benefactor to the Abbey, and very much increased its possessions. He died in the year 1243, and was succeeded by his Prior,

Walter de St. John, who died on the intended day of his installation.

John de Felda (Field), the Precentor of the house, was therefore appointed his successor, and was installed December 12, 1243. On his consecration the sacrist of Worcester received an alb and cope, as well for Walter, not installed, as for John[73]. He completed the *south western tower*, which Foliot, his predecessor, had commenced. He also pulled down the old refectory, and began to build a new one in 1246. In 1251 the Abbey is stated to have been in debt to the amount of three thousand marks, insomuch that the Bishop of Worcester, to whom the monks applied for relief, was obliged to forbid the reception of strangers at the monastery, and to retrench its hospitality altogether[74]. This Abbot, before his decease, which occurred on the sixth of the calends of April, 1263, appropriated the profits of the mill at Over, which had been built by him, for the provision of good cheer for the Abbey, and for the relief of the poor on the anniversary of his death.

Reginald de Hamme, or Homme, who had been chaplain to the preceding Abbot, was installed immediately after his death. He is said to have found the monastery fifteen hundred marks in debt, which he was unable to pay, and therefore applied for assistance to King Henry the Third, who, in 1272, appointed a commissioner to provide for the observance of this grant, and to secure the Abbey from injury. In 1264, this Abbot, in conjunction with the Bishop of Worcester, procured a truce to be made between the barons, then in the town of Gloucester, and Prince Edward, who had seized the castle: and in the following year he was summoned to parliament, being, according to Dugdale, the first abbot who received a summons. In 1274,

[71] Annal. Wigorn. Angl. Sac. i. 491.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Angl. Sac. i. 492.

[74] Furney's MSS.

Abbot Homme, being proctor for the whole diocese of Worcester, by special order from the Pope, in the absence of the bishop, who was detained at home by infirmity, attended the council of Lyons. Towards the close of his administration, in 1283, John Gifford, Lord of Brimsfield, founded *Gloucester Hall*, in Oxford (now called Worcester College), for thirteen monks, to be improved in learning[76], whom he chose out of this monastery, and appropriated to their support the church of Chipping Norton. Other monasteries afterwards partook of the benefit of this foundation; but the Abbey of St. Peter of Gloucester, was obliged to maintain three or four of its monks there, with an allowance to each of fifteen marks per annum[77]. Reginald is stated to have made various ordinances for the regulation of the convent, one of the most important of which was concerning the obits of his monks[78]. He died in 1284, and was succeeded by

John de Gamages, from Gamages, in Normandy, who was Prior of Hereford[79]. The royal assent was given to his election October 4, 1284[80]. He received the benediction from Godfrey, Bishop of Worcester[81]. Furney states that he was so infirm, that year, as to be unable to attend to business, and therefore procured from the King a licence to appoint attorneys in all pleas relating to himself, or his Abbey. By the Chronicle already referred to, it appears that, in the first year of his abbacy, the Convent, in consideration of numerous losses which it had sustained, surrendered to him, for the space of one year, various aids and remissions out of those things which were

[76] Cott. MSS. Dom. A. 8. Also Lel. Col. i. 247.

[77] Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 534.

[78] Cott. MSS. ut supr. By this ordinance it was provided that, when any professed brother died, the *brevia* (or notices of his death) should be immediately written, and delivered to the Almoner, who should transmit them to all the neighbouring priories and religious houses; and, because this could not be done without expense, it was resolved that the following officers should each contribute a small sum, viz. the cellarers and almoner 12*d.* each; the sacrist, chamberlain, and sub-almoner 6*d.* each; and the precentor and infirmarer 3*d.* This payment was to be made to the sub-almoner on the day of such monk's burial, under penalty of forfeiting twice the sum.

[79] Annal. Wigorn. Angl. Sac. i. 507.

[80] Rot. Pat. 12 Edw. I.

[81] Anglia Sacra, ut supra.

specially proved to appertain to their comfort and support[82]. On his promotion to the abbacy, he found the house burthened with a debt of one thousand marks, which he repaid, and increased the stock of sheep to ten thousand, whence forty-six sacks of wool were sold in one year. In 1298, William de Brok, one of the monks, and afterwards Prior of the Abbey, became an *Inceptor* in divinity at Oxford, under the Chancellor of that University; being the first monk of the Benedictine order in England who took the degree of doctor in that faculty[83].

Another fire broke out in 1300, in a house in the great court of the Abbey, by which the cloister, the great chamber, the belfry, and the buildings adjoining, were burnt down[84]. In the following year the Abbot,

[82] Among these are 10*l.* from the tithes of Froucester; from half the proceeds of the church of Newport, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; from honey, 50*s.*; from the "Magistro" of the town, for cheese-cakes *(fladonibus)* for the convent, 66*s.* 8*d.*; for the second dish on seven festivals during the year, 69*s.*; for the second dish on thirty feasts of copes, by the year, 4*l.*; from the Sacrist, for St. Denis' festival, 40*s.*; from the anniversary of Gilbert, Bishop of London, 26*s.* 8*d.*; from that of Thomas de Northlech, 24*s.* 4*d.*; that of Lucy de Purtoleye, 10*s.*; that of Matthew de Besyle, 5*s.*; that of Master Walter de Bernwood, 15*s.* The annual amount of these being 38*l.* 18*s.*, besides the Refectorar's fee of loaves, valued yearly at 40*s.*, and the daily allowance *(exigentia)* of dishes in the refectory, valued at 100*s.* yearly. It also appears that, although it had been usual for the convent to have on the seven days of festival two dishes of meat *(ferculis)*, and a good allowance of fresh water and sea fish, and plenty of meat on flesh days, and on every feast of copes and albs, a good dish of fresh and salt fish; yet, in consideration of poverty, they adopted baked eggs for meat, and herrings for more expensive fish, which made a difference of 10*l.* yearly; the Sacrist and Precentor also surrendered a cask of wine, which it had been usual for each of them to receive on their festivals, which lasted three days. The total amount of these things was 65*l.* 18*s.*, whereof the deduction in the kitchen department was 32*l.* 19*s.*

[83] At his inception there were present the Abbot of Gloucester, with his whole Convent, and other noble persons, to the amount of a hundred horse; among these were the Abbots of Westminster, Reading, Abingdon, Evesham, and Malmesbury, with many Priors and Monks, the whole of whom offered him a variety of presents; and all other prelates of the Benedictine order throughout the whole province of Canterbury, who were absent, transmitted presents by their servants.

[84] As many of the inferior buildings of the Abbey seem to have been on the north side, it is probable that the present *small cloisters* occupy the site of those burnt down in 1300, and that they are referable to a much later date. The groined roof of the short passage connecting the two cloisters is of early English architecture, and consequently we may consider it of a much earlier period than either of the two cloisters.

Prior, Sub-prior, with other officers and monks, were excommunicated by the Prior of Worcester (*sede vacante*), for opposing his visitation of the Abbey, on the ground that it had been visited twice before in the same year[85]; but from this sentence the Abbey appealed to the Apostolic See, and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in 1303, condemned the Abbot for contumacy. A like dispute arising in the time of his successor makes it evident that the Abbey was by no means satisfied of the Prior of Worcester's authority in this particular[86]. In 1303, the old dormitory having been blown down, this Abbot commenced the building of a new one, which was finished by his successor, ten years afterwards. Of Abbot Gamages' great hospitality, an instance is preserved in the account of the feast which he made in 1305, when the justices sat in the great hall of the Abbey upon the inquisition of Traylebaston[87].

He procured many privileges for his house, one of which was a charter, whereby, during every vacancy of the Abbot, the Prior and Convent were appointed keepers of the Abbey until another had received the temporalities: for every vacancy, whether it continued four months or not, they were to pay to the king two hundred marks; and if it continued longer than that time, to pay according to the rate of two hundred marks for every four months[88]. He was also a great donor of books and ornaments. His death took place on the 15th of the calends of May, 1306, or, according to the Annals of Worcester, in 1307, at which time he had lived sixty-two years in this monastery, whereof he was Abbot twenty-three. He was buried near his brother, Sir Nicholas Gamages, at the gate of the cloister[89], and his funeral was attended by a numerous assemblage of the clergy[90].

[85] Anglia Sacra, i. 507. [86] Furney's MSS.

[87] Much disquisition has arisen respecting the origin and application of this term, as applied to justices itinerant. It appears, however, from Du Cange, that they carried about with them a staff, as an ensign of their office and authority, in the same manner as a constable, in the present day, is furnished with a certain painted stick.

[88] Rot. Pat. 34 Edw. I.

[89] When the workmen were erecting Bishop Benson's Screen, in 1741, they found a stone coffin, containing "a sword, a little pewter chalice, a staff." This coffin is supposed to have belonged to Abbot Gamages, as the chalice and staff denote an ecclesiastic, and the sword, a knight, probably his brother. Vide Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, Intro. i. lii.

[90] Annal. Wigorn. Anglia Sacra, i. 529.

To him succeeded JOHN THOKEY, or TOKY, the Sub-prior of the house, to whose election the royal assent was given May 3, 1306, and on the 16th he had the temporalities restored[91]. It appears by the Annals of Worcester that he received the benediction at the Bishop of Worcester's palace at Hartlebury, on the 8th of the calends of July, 1307[92]. In 1313 he was excommunicated for resisting the Prior of Worcester's visitation in the vacancy of that See; but an award being made concerning it, the Bishop of Worcester, in the following year, absolved the Abbey, and required the Archdeacon of Worcester to publish it[93].

Thokey is said to have built the *south aile of the Nave,* in 1318: but the most noted event of his abbacy was the reception of the body of *King Edward the Second,* for interment[94]. This laudable measure was of incalculable advantage to the Monastery, as Edward the Third, in the second year of his reign, in consideration of the expenses which the Abbey had been at in

[91] Rot. Pat. 34 Edw. I. [92] Anglia Sacra, i. 529.

[93] Dugdale's Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 534, from Kennet. Diptycha Eccl. Angl.

[94] It is recorded of this monarch, that, coming to Gloucester about the year 1319, he was honorably received by the Abbot and Convent, and being present at an entertainment given in the Abbot's hall, observed the pictures of his predecessors, and jocosely inquired if his own was among them; the Abbot, in something of a prophetic spirit, answered, that he hoped he should have him in a more honourable place. This actually occurred, for when the King was deposed and murdered at Berkeley Castle, by the instigation of Queen Isabel, the monasteries of Bristol, Kingswood, and Malmesbury absolutely refused to receive the royal corpse, through fear of Mortimer and the Queen; but Abbot Thokey brought the dead body from Berkeley Castle, in his own carriage, to the monastery of Gloucester, where it was received by the members of the convent in procession, and buried on the north side of the choir, near the great altar. In Smith's History of the Berkeley Family, it is stated that the account of William Aside, the receiver of that nobleman, "in the second of Edward the Third, shewethe what he paid for dyinge of the white eanvas into black, for coveringe the chariot wherein the body of the kinge was carryed from Berkeley Castle to Gloucester; what the cords, the horse collers, the traces, and other necessaries particularly cost, used about the chariot, and conveyinge of his body thence to Gloucester. (*In uno vaseo argenteo pro corde dicti domini regis patris reponendo xxxviis. viiid.*) For a silver vessel to put the King's hart in, 37*s.* 8*d.* In oblations at severall times in the Chapple of the Castle of Berkeley for the king's soule, 21*d.* In expences of the Lord Berkeley's family goinge with the king's body from Berkeley to Gloucester, 18*s.* 6*d.*, and many the like perticularityes; whereto add these records here margined, more then evincinge the truth of this matter, whereby this Lord is allowed five pounds by the day for the king's expences whilst he was at his keepinge at Berkeley, and for soe longe time as his body remayned at Berkeley after his death."

Measured & Drawn by H. Ansted. 1827. Engraved by J. Le Keux.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

TOWER & TRANSEPT - HALF ELEVATION, HALF SECTION.

To the REV.d TOWNSEND SELWYN, M.A. one of the Prebendaries of G.C. this plate is inscribed by the AUTHOR

Printed by Hayward,

London, Published, Nov.r 1.1828, by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row.

W.H. Bartlett del. J.Le Keux fc.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

NORTH TRANSEPT, LOOKING N.E.

To the REVD GEORGE WM HALL, D.D. Master of Pembroke College, Oxford: & one of the Prebendaries of Gloucester Cathedral, this plate is inscribed by THE AUTHOR.

London. Pubd April 1826 by Longman & Co Paternoster Row.

Printed by Hayward

celebrating his father's funeral, granted that upon every vacancy of the Abbot's chair the monks should compound with the King, at the rate of a hundred marks for the space of a year; but that all knights' fees holden of the Abbey, escheats, and presentations to churches, which should fall in the time of the vacancy, should belong to the King. The Prior, as President, and the Convent, were to keep the house in safe custody, till another superior was admitted thereto. The escheator, or the sheriff, upon a vacancy, to make only simple seisin within the Abbey, and so to depart[95].

Abbot Thokey acquired various possessions for the Abbey, but growing old and infirm, he resigned in 1329; soon after which he died[96].

John Wygemore[97], who succeeded, had before been Prior of the house. He was well skilled in mechanics, and the art of weaving[98], and made various additions and improvements to the Abbey, both while he was Prior and after he was raised to the abbacy. It is stated that, whilst Prior, he built the Abbot's chamber, near the garden of the infirmary, and adorned at his own expense the screen, or picture (*tabulam*), at the Prior's altar, with burnished and gilt images, and constructed another screen of the same work in the Abbot's chapel.

The assassination of King Edward the Second produced a superstitious idea, that the only method of averting the Divine vengeance from the nation was by devotion at his shrine: this opinion was doubtless strengthened and confirmed by the monks of Gloucester, who found their advantage in it; for it appears that, in the time of this Abbot, the offerings to King Edward's tomb were so great, that from their produce, within six years of his coming to the government of the monastery, he was enabled to build the *aile of St. Andrew* (supposed to be the *north transept*), a grange at Highnam, the

[95] Rudder's History, &c. of Gloucestershire, p. 136, from MS. Froucester.

[96] Willis' Mit. Abb. i. 115.

[97] Rot. Pat. 3 Edw. III. p. 2.

[98] The Abbey Chronicle states that he gave to the convent a vestment of green samyt, or samet, with birds (volucribus) of gold, which he had worked with his own hands, to be worn on the feast of Pentecost: and he provided another suit of baudekyn for the feast of the Apostles, with various other copes of black velvet, embroidered with gold birds (probably doves).

Abbot's chamber, near the great hall, the smaller hall annexed, called "Vampeyhalle," and the chapel there. The Chronicle speaks of Wygemore as being exceedingly affable; and so humble, that he oftentimes invited one or other of the brethren to his chamber, and refreshed them with a variety of meats and drinks[99]. Dying on the 2d of the calends of March, 1337, he was buried on the south side of the church, near the entrance to *the choir*, which he built.

Adam de Staunton, also Prior of the Monastery, was the next Abbot; the royal assent being given to his elcction March 18, and the temporalities of the Monastery restored to him April 11, 1337[1]. He built the *vaulting, or inner roof of the choir*, and the stalls on the Prior's side, out of the oblations presented at King Edward's tomb[2]. He also built the Abbot's chamber in the vineyard-house at Over, and began to crect a wall round it, which was completed by his successor[3]. He withdrew from the cellarer and cook the courtesies which it had been usual for them to receive from the town collectors; these he divided among the fraternity, to the amount of twenty shillings each[4]. In 1338, he was one of the two presidents at the chapter of the Benedictines, held at Northampton. He died in 1351, and was buried before *St. Thomas'*

[99] Probably the chamber near the garden of the infirmary, which might be a sort of summer-house for recreation. This remark of the writer shews in what a seeluded state the abbots generally lived, with respeet to the inferior brethren.

[1] Rot. Pat. 11 Edw. III. p. 1.

[2] These seem to have been very considerable, for it is stated that if all the oblations presented at the shrine had been expended upon the church, it might have been built anew; and that so great were the offerings of the nobles nnd rieh men, about this time, of jewels and cloth of gold, that a hundred pieces of silk, interwoven with gold, were sold at a eheap rate. King Edward the Third, being in danger of shipwreek, vowed to offer a golden ship, whieh he faithfully presented, but afterwards redeemed it, at the request of the Abbot and Convent, for 100*l.*; the Blaek Prince offered a eross of the same metal, containing a portion of the Holy Cross; the Queen of Seots, a valuable neeklace, with a ruby; and Queen Philippa a heart and ear of gold.

[3] Furney's MS. Also Willis' Mit. Abb. i. 115.

[4] It seems that the eellerer and cook had before taken the whole of these gifts (perhaps new year's gifts) to themselves: it is most likely that these offieers had great interest with the tradesmen of the town who supplied the cellar and kitehen of the Monastery, and that they received from them many presents, annually.

altar, built by his brother, John de Staunton, leaving a thousand marks in the Abbey treasury, which, according to the Chronicle, he had saved that he might be advanced to the abbacy of Evesham[5]. The moveables and immoveables of the convent were, three years before his death, valued at 287*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.*, and the members of the convent were at that time thirty-six[6].

Thomas de Horton, Sacrist of the Monastery, was elected, "per viam compromissi," to succeed him; the royal assent being given to the election November the 19th, the benediction bestowed at Cheltenham, by the Bishop of Worcester, December the 4th, and the temporalities of the Monastery restored December the 12th, 1351[7]. He acquired numerous possessions, and adorned the church with a variety of costly books, vestments, and vessels of silver[8]. He also made great increase to the monastic buildings, such as the Abbot's chapel near the garden of the infirmary, the roofing of the chamber of the monk's hostelry, and the great hall in the court, where the parliaments were afterwards held. In his time also the *high altar*, with the presbytery and the *stalls* on the Abbot's side, were begun and finished; and *St. Paul's aile*, which was commenced in 1367, was completed in 1372, the expense of the whole work amounting to 781*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.*, of which the Abbot paid 444*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.* He also constructed the images, with their tabernacles, on the north side of the entrance to the choir. After governing twenty-six years, he resigned, November 8, 1377, seventeen weeks and three days after which, he died, and was buried under a flat stone in the north transept[9].

[5] From this translation, or removal, it might be inferred that Evesham was of superior value to Gloucester; but this was not the case at the dissolution.

[6] Rudder's History, &c. of Gloucestershire, p. 136.

[7] Compare Pat. 25 Edw. III. p. 3.—Reg. Wigorn. Thoresby.—Willis's Mit. Abb. i. 116.

[8] Among these were silver plate for the use of the refectory of the Convent, four silver basins for the high altar, viz. two large ones for the Abbot, and two smaller ones for the priest officiating there; also two silver candlesticks for the altar, a chalice of gold, and a silver vase to hold the holy water, with a sprinkler of silver; a cross of silver gilt, to set upon the altar whilst the priest was officiating, a crosier of silver, two vestments of scarlet cloth, and of cloth of white and gold.

[9] Lel. Itin. edit. 1711, vol. iv. p. 172. Before his resignation he made an ordinance, by

John Boyfield was elected Abbot, " per viam compromissi," towards the close of the year 1377, having previously been Precentor of the Monastery; he received the benediction from Gilbert, Bishop of Hereford, at Whitbourn, on the Sunday before Christmas Day, and was installed on Christmas Eve[10]. On the 2d of the calends of November, in the following year, King Richard the Second held a parliament in the great hall of the Abbey, during the session of which, he, with his whole court, were lodged in the house, which was so full that for some days the monks took their meals entirely in the dormitory, but afterwards in the school house, their dinner being cooked in the " pomerio" (query, storeroom or orchard[11]). In this parliament there was much contention between the spiritual and temporal lords, each complaining of the other's encroachments. It lasted twenty-eight days, and concluded with the grant of a liberal supply to the King[12], who before the close of the session, gave a feast in the refectory, on which occasion the Abbot chanted high mass in the choir in the presence of an immense assemblage of the nobility.

Boyfield had great difficulties to contend with during his abbacy; the

which he provided that, on the anniversary of his death, mass should be celebrated for him, in vestments of blue velvet, interwoven with little moons and stars, which he himself had provided; that the screen (tabulam) over the altar, with its images, which had been constructed by his assistance, should be uncovered; and that on that day the Convent should be served with wassail, wine, and pittance out of the proceeds of the church of Camme, and that the Prior of Stanley, for the time being, should have charge of that church, and pay annually to the Abbot and Convent on the anniversary of the said Abbot, and on the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, the like oblations which an obedientiary there paid them against the festival of Christmas.

[10] Willis's Mit. Abb. i. 116.

[11] On this occasion the business relative to the laws of arms was transacted in the refectory, the guest hall was set apart for the common parliament, or house of lords; in the guest chamber, called of old the king's chamber, on account of its beauty, was held the privy council; and the council of the commons in the chapter house. During the session of parliament the martyrology was read in the choir without any respect to order; for, says the Chronicle, the Monastery was so crowded, that it was more like a fair than a house of religion, and the grass plat in the cloister was so trampled by wrestling and ball playing, that not a vestige of green grass was to be seen.

[12] Rudge's Hist. of Glouc. p. 25.

Bishop of Worcester, unjustly accused him and his Monks of incontinence, and procured a bull from the Pope to secure to himself and to his successors the right of visiting the Monastery[13]. In his time also, the revenues of the Abbey were reduced by inundations, pestilence, and excessive hospitality, to seventeen hundred marks, yearly[14]. Boyfield died on the third of the calends of January, 1381, and was buried on the south side of the north transept, near his predecessor[15].

Walter Froucester, who had previously been Chamberlain of the Monastery, next received the royal assent, as Abbot, January 21, 1381[16]. He was an eminent scholar, and collected and transcribed the Abbey records down to the twentieth of Edward III.[17] Shortly after his election, the Abbey was sued for payment of the two hundred marks, according to the charter of Edward I.; but, after much argument, it was decided that this fine for the vacancy was no longer due to the crown[18]. In the following year he obtained from the King a license of absence from all parliaments, councils, and convocations, unless there was some particular reason for his presence. On his first promotion, he found the house burthened with debts to the amount of eight thousand florins, which by his prudent conduct he was enabled to pay. By the interest of the Duke of Gloucester he procured from Pope Urban, for himself and his successors, a grant of the mitre, ring, sandals, and dalmatic; likewise the right of giving the solemn benediction at vespers,

[13] Atkyns's Hist. Glouc. p. 66.

[14] The number of officers in this Monastery shews the pomp and luxury of the establishment; besides the abbot, there were three priors, two cellarers, two almoners, three sacrists, two precentors, chamberlains, keepers of the refectory, infirmary, and hostillary, masters of the churches, chapels, and works, à monk of the vill; or town, kitcheners, monks called *scholares Oxon.* residing in Gloucester College, all of whom had their particular lands, rents, and emoluments; these officers had likewise their chaplains, attorneys, registrars, clerks, stewards, bailiffs, porters, brewers, shepherds, &c. amounting to above one hundred and ten different persons.

[15] Willis's Mit. Abb. i. 116.

[16] Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 535, from Pat. 4 Ric. II. p. 1.

[17] A part of these MSS. is in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester; a corresponding copy is preserved in the library of Queen's College, Oxford, and another is in the British Museum, Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8, to which frequent reference has been made in this volume.

[18] Furney's MSS.

matins, and table, if neither Bishop nor Legate were present[19]. He made great additions to the ornaments, books, vestments, silver plate, and buildings of the Monastery; and completed the Monks' cloister, which his predecessor, Horton, had commenced and built as far as the door of the chapter-house, towards the north[20].

Froucester seems to have been active in the dispatch of business, and for many years kept at the court of Rome, as proctor, one of the brethren of the house, by whose assistance various churches were annexed and appropriated to his Monastery[21]. Dying in 1412, he was buried at the south-west part of the choir, under the arch of the tower, where his mutilated gravestone is said to remain[22].

The royal assent was given to the election of Hugh Morton, as Abbot, on the 10th, and the temporalities of the Monastery were restored to him on the 27th of May, 1412[23]. He died, without having done any thing worthy of particular notice, in 1420, when

John Marewent, or Morwent, the Chamberlain, succeeded him; the temporalities of the Monastery being restored July 14, in that year[24]. According to Willis, he erected the *west front*, the *south porch*, and *two western pillars of the nave*, intending, if he had lived, to make the whole body of the Church correspond in style[25]. Henry VI., before going abroad,

[19] The Cbronicle states that, about this time, great erowds of people assembled at Gloucester, to witness tbe translation of St. Kyneburgh from Lantony to the castle, and thence to the chapel of that saint, where mass was celebrated by the Bishop of Woreester: after whieh the Duke of Gloueester, together with the Bishop and thc Abbot, proceeded to the banquet, where, with music playing all the time, the pontifieal ornaments were presented to the Abbot.

[20] Furney states tbat, in some MSS. in his possession, it is said that Abbot Froucester began the building of a "*neat cloister*," whose ceiling and ornamental workmanship were no where to be surpassed. The Monastieon relates that he built the *great cloisters* on the north side of the ebureh, in one of the windows of which, till the civil wars, there were verses written by himself, detailing the history of the Convent: these are printed in the Mon. Ang. new ed. i. 542.

[21] Frouees. Chron. B. M. Dom. A. 8.

[22] Mon. Ang. new ed. i. 535.

[23] Mon. Ang. ut supr. from Pat. 13 Hen. IV. p. 2.

[24] Ibid. from Pat. 8 Hen. V.

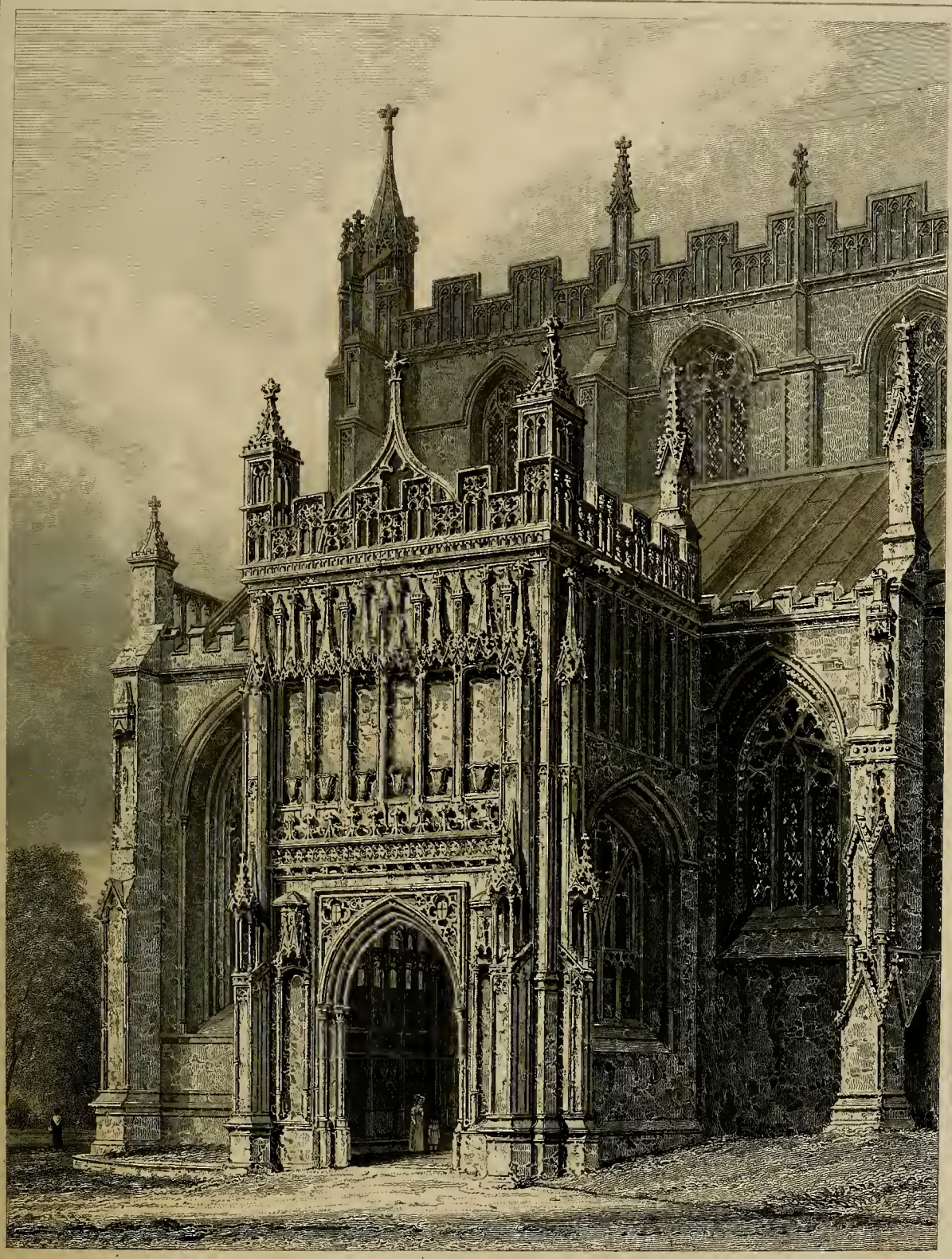
[25] Mit. Abb. i. 116. Rudder says, that on the seeond of August, 7 Hen. VI. (1427), a composition was made between the Abbey and the town, wbereby the Lane, adjoining tbe south wall of

Drawn by W. H. Bartlett. Engraved by Wm Woolnoth.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.
VIEW OF THE WESTERN FRONT.

To JOHN BARON. M.D; F.R.S. &c.&c. this plate is inscribed, with sentiments of esteem by the AUTHOR

London. Published. Nov.r 1.1828, by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row. Printed by Barnett & Son.



Drawn by W.H. Bartlett, 1827.

Engraved by J.Le Keux.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

VIEW OF THE SOUTH PORCH.

To the HONORABLE & REVd DANIEL FINCH, B.D. one of the Prebendaries of this Cathedral, this Plate is inscribed as a testimony of esteem by the AUTHOR.

London, Published July 1, 1828, by Longman & Co Paternoster Row.

Printed by Hayward.

Drawn by W. Bartlett. Figures by Brooke. Engraved by J. Le Keux.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

VIEW OF THE NORTH WALK OF THE CLOISTERS.

To the REVD HENRY WETHERELL, B.D Archdeacon of Hereford & one of the Prebendaries of GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL this Plate is inscribed by the AUTHOR.

Printed by Hayward

London Published Dec.1.1828 by Longman & Co Paternoster Row

Drawn by W. H. Bartlett. Engraved by J. Le Keux.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

VIEW OF THE SOUTH TRANSEPT. TOWER &c.

To CHAS HANBURY TRACY ESQR of Toddington, who has evinced his partiality for Ecclesiastical Architecture, by raising his own mansion in that style, this plate is inscribed by J. BRITTON.

London. Published May 1 1820 by Longman & C. Paternoster Row.

Printed by Barnett & Son

visited the Abbey, and offered an oblation at King Edward's tomb[26]. Morewent died in 1437, when he had for his successor

Reginald Boulers, or Butler, D. D., to whom the temporalities were restored November 12, 1437[27]. In 1444, being appointed ambassador to Rome and to other places, where his presence might be required for a considerable time, the Prior and Convent granted him 400*l.* per annum out of the funds of the Abbey, during his absence[28]. Previous to his advancement to the See of Hereford, in 1450, he was sent prisoner to the Castle of Ludlow, by Richard, Duke of York, who was then at variance with King Henry the Sixth.

Thomas Seabrooke, after the promotion of Boulers to the See of Hereford, was elected Abbot, and had the temporalities restored, February the 16th, 1450[29]. He pulled down the old *Tower*, and began the building of the present beautiful structure, a monument of his taste and knowledge in the science of architecture, which distant ages will view with admiration; but dying before it was finished, left the completion of it to Robert Tully, a monk of the house, and afterwards Bishop of St. David's[30]. It appears

the Abbey, was granted to the bailiffs and burgesses. Their serjeants were empowered to carry their maces before the bailiffs into the Abbey: and the bailiffs or their serjeants might execute any of the King's writs, summonses, &c. within the Abbey, excepting upon the Abbot, Monks, their domestic servants, or counsellors.

[26] Furney's MSS. [27] Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 536, from Pat. 16 Hen. VI. p. 1.

[28] Mon. Ang. ut supr. from Rudder's Hist. Glouc. p. 137. By a composition made between the Abbey and the town, on the 20th of July, 1447, it was, amongst other things, agreed, that no Abbot, Monk, tenant, or person retained in the service of the Abbey should be arrested for debt, but that their chattels only should be seized: that the bailiffs should only exercise their authority within the Abbey (although acknowledged to be within the jurisdiction of the town) in cases of felony, treason, and other matters relative to the crown; that the Abbey should not afford sanctuary to persons flying from justice, nor provide lodgings for them; but should have liberty to maintain therein such persons as were requisite to provide them with clothes and other necessaries; and that if other persons taking sanctuary there should not be removed within fifteen days after notice given to the Abbot (or in his absence to the Prior or Cellarer), the bailiffs might arrest them. Furney's MSS. from an old book in the custody of the town clerk.

[29] Mon. Ang. ut supr. from Pat. 29 Hen. VI. p. 1, m. 5.

[30] Furney's MSS. The Lansdowne MS. No. 684, p. 28, says that "the former tower stood in

from the name, arms, and motto of this Abbot still remaining on many of the glazed tiles near to the altar, that he repaved the choir. He died in 1457, and was buried in a chapel at the south-west end of the choir, where his effigy, in alabaster, is placed upon an altar tomb [31].

Richard Hanley was appointed the next Abbot, to whom the temporalities were restored March 11, 1457 [32]. In the following year he obtained from the crown, for the Abbey, a general pardon for all forfeitures, offences, &c.; and in 1470, William Nottingham, Esq. the Attorney-general, and afterwards Chief Baron of the Exchequer, gave lands to the Convent, for the erection of a chantry, to be supplied by two of the Monks [33]. This Abbot began the *Lady Chapel*, at the east end of the Church; and, dying in 1472, was succeeded by

William Farley, or Ferley, a Monk of the house, by whom the said Chapel was completed. The temporalities were restored to him May 1, 1472 [34]. He appears to have presided over the Abbey, with great credit, for about sixteen years: but after his death, in 1498, the Monks were so disorderly and contentious in making interest for the Abbacy, that the King directed a mandate to the Prior, as President, to punish all the offenders, and to preserve order during the vacancy [35]. These dissensions were, however, put an end to by the election of

John Malvern, or Mulverne, who had restitution of the temporalities, December 7, 1498 [36], and died the 13th of August in the following year; when great contention and opposition again prevailed among the Monks for the vacant seat. At length

that place which is usuallie called the comon orchard, more neare to an auntient building nowe called the infirmary, which onelie was to be seene afar off, with an high pine tree:" and that "the forme of the churche, together with that most auncient fabrick in the tyme of the nunnes, is very graphically pourtrayed in the glass window of the east side of the great cloister."

[31] Furney's MSS. The Monasticon, new edit. i. 536, states, that when Bishop Benson repaved the choir in 1741, Abbot Seabrooke's coffin, with several others, were opened.

[32] Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 536, from Pat. 36 Hen. VI. p. 2.

[33] Furney's MSS.

[34] Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 536, from Pat. 12 Edw. IV.

[35] Rudge's Hist. Glouc. p. 178.

[36] Mon. Ang. ut supr. from Pat. 14 Hen. VII. p. 3, m. 17.

Drawn by H. Ansted, 1827. Engraved by Wm Woolnoth.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

EAST END OF THE LADY CHAPEL.

To the REVd JOHN WEBB, F.S.A. this plate is inscribed as a testimony of esteem by the AUTHOR.

Printed by Barnett & Son.

London, Published July 1, 1828, by Longman & Co Paternoster Row.

Thomas Braunche, one of these Monks, was elected Abbot, August 31, 1500, and dying on the 1st of July, 1510, was succeeded by

John Newton, alias Brown, D. D. the King's Chaplain, and, at the time of his election, Prior of St.. Guthlac's, near Hereford, who had the temporalities restored to him on the 28th of November, and was installed the 6th of December following[37]. Great opposition was made to his election, and though the majority of the Monks, at that time amounting to forty-six in the Abbey and sixteen in the Cells, were in his favour, yet John Huntley, the Cellarer, with seventeen Monks, made an unsuccessful appeal to the Bishop of Worcester; the cause of this opposition originated in his not having been initiated in this Abbey, of which he became a Monk in 1478. Fosbrooke says, "Clergymen were in the habit of entering the house, but were not considered on a par with the *nutriti*, or regular Monks, bred in the Abbey from infancy[38]." Dying on the 15th of January, 1514,

William Malverne, alias Parker, B. D. was elected Abbot, but he did not have restitution of the temporalities till the 6th of August, 1515[39]; shortly after which he took the degree of D. D. at Oxford[40], and in the following year attended a general Chapter, held at Coventry, wherein various statutes were enacted, to reform many monastic abuses; these, together with other constitutions respecting the proper distribution of the alms of the house, he transcribed into a Register, which is now in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester[41]. In 1524, he wrote a poem, which may be seen in Hearne's edition of "Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle," entitled "The Foundation of the Abbey of Gloucester, and the Changes of the same, prior to the Suppression." In March 1525, Cardinal Wolsey, by his commissary, Dr. Allen, exercised a legatine visitation in the Abbey, when its yearly revenues were said to amount to 1022*l.* 15*s.* 1*d.* and the Monks acknowledged themselves indebted to the Cardinal 40*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*[42] About five years afterwards, the clergy of the kingdom having incurred

[37] Furney's MSS.

[38] Hist. Glouc. p. 179.

[39] Mon. Ang. new edit. vol. i. p. 536.

[40] Furney's MSS.

[41] Fosbrooke's Hist. Glouc. p. 179.

[42] Rudge's Hist. Glouc. p. 178.

a præmunire, for acknowledging and receiving Wolsey's authority from Rome, compounded with the King for a fine of 200,000*l.*; of this sum the Abbey of Gloucester paid 500*l.*[43] Malverne, amongst other additions to the monastic buildings, constructed the *Monumental Chapel*, or chantry, on the north side of the choir. With Richard Skidmor, and thirty-four other Monks, he subscribed to the King's supremacy in 1534, and continued Abbot until the dissolution of monasteries, soon after which he died.

The Abbey was surrendered A°. 31 Henry VIII. (1539), when its annual revenues were valued, according to Dugdale, at 1946*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.*, and according to Speed, at 1550*l.* 4*s.* 5½*d.*[44], out of which the King's Commissioners assigned pensions to the Prior and to the other Monks[45]. Although a Mitred Abbey, and endowed with great privileges, it was subject to the visitation of the Bishops of Worcester until its dissolution[46]. From the Registers of that See it appears that the last visitation was made by Bishop Latimer in 1537[47].

[43] Rudder's Hist. Glouc. p. 139.

[44] This variation of value arises from the omission of the cells by the latter author.

[45] Furney's MSS.

[46] Atkyn's Hist. Glouc. p. 129.

[47] Mon. Ang. new edit. vol. i. p. 536.

Chap. II.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE SEE:—ITS EXTENT, JURISDICTION, ETC.:—WITH BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED PRELATES AND DEANS, WHO HAVE SUCCESSIVELY GOVERNED THE SEE AND THE CATHEDRAL.

HAVING in the preceding chapter detailed the most distinguishing circumstances in the history of the Abbey of St. Peter, and also noticed a few biographical traits of character of its Abbots, it will be the province of the present section to point out such incidents and events relating to the See, and the conversion of the Abbey into a Cathedral, as may serve to connect and give interest to a regular narrative. Brief biographical anecdotes of the most eminent Prelates and Deans will necessarily come into this essay.

After the dissolution an act of parliament was passed, under which the city and county of Gloucester were constituted an independent Bishoprick, with a Dean and Chapter, by the name of the Diocess of Gloucester: it was also ordained, that such part of the "vill and county of Bristol" as formerly was part of the diocess of Worcester, should thenceforth be part and parcel of this See.

The letters of endowment, dated September 3, 1541, state that the King "desiring above all things that true religion and the worship of God might be entirely restored and reformed to the primitive and genuine rule of simplicity, and that all those enormities into which the lives and profession of the Monks had for a long time deplorably lapsed, might be corrected, had, as far as human frailty would permit, endeavoured to the utmost, that, for the future, the pure word of God might be taught, good discipline observed, youth freely instructed in learning, the infirmities of old age relieved with necessaries, alms given to poor Christians, highways and bridges repaired; and that all offices of piety might there abound, and thence spread to the neighbourhood far and near, to the glory of God and

the common good and benefit of his subjects: and also considering that the site of the Monastery of St. Peter, in which were *many memorials* of his ancestors, was a very fit place for erecting an episcopal See, ordained, that the Monastery should be erected into a *Cathedral Church*, dedicated to the *Holy and Individed Trinity*."

The Abbey lands were also granted for the maintenance of a Bishop, a Dean, an Archdeacon, and six Prebendaries, six minor Canons, six lay Clerks, eight Choristers, two Masters, and other inferior officers. It was at the same time ordered, that the Abbot's lodgings, with the buildings, chapels, grounds, and other premises, his stable, and the garden at the end of the churchyard, all within the precincts of the Abbey, the house called the Wood-Barton, two stables, two slaughter houses, and a dog-kennel, in the parish of St. Mary de Lode, should be called the *Bishop's Palace*[1]. Three years afterwards, various statutes and orders for the better rule and government of the Cathedral Church were compiled by Dr. Heath, Bishop of Worcester, afterwards Archbishop of York, and Lord High Chancellor of England; Dr. Day, Bishop of Chichester; and Archdeacon Cox, afterwards Preceptor and Almoner to King Edward the Sixth[2]. These instruments are printed in Sir Robert Atkyns's History of Gloucestershire. In 1647 and the two following years, several alienations were made of the lands with which the See was endowed, but they reverted to the Bishoprick on the Restoration[3]. By the charter of creation,

John Wakeman, the last Abbot of Tewkesbury, and Chaplain to King Henry the Eighth, was appointed the first Bishop of this new Diocess, on the 3d of September, 1541; and was consecrated, according to Le Neve, on the 20th of the same month[4]. A commission of learned persons having been appointed to inspect and prepare the translation of the New Testament, that portion called the Revelation was assigned to Wakeman[5]. By Godwin it appears that he died in the beginning of December, 1549, and was

[1] Atkyns's Hist. Glouc. p. 24.
[2] Ibid. p. 85.
[3] Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 538.
[4] Fasti Ecclesiæ, p. 101.
[5] Atkyns's Hist. Glouc. p. 31.

buried, as Wood states, at Forthampton, county of Gloucester, where he had a house, with a private chapel[6]. Willis says that he provided a place of burial in the Abbey Church of Tewkesbury, but we have no evidence of the real place of his interment.

John Hooper, D. D. was consecrated on the 8th of March, 1550, by Archbishop Cranmer, assisted by the Bishops of London and Rochester; and was installed on the 22d of the same month[7]. In the earlier part of his life he had been a Monk in the Monastery of Cleeves, county of Somerset, but disliking the regularity of the monastic state, returned to Merton College, Oxford, which he had entered in 1514. Here he soon became a Lutheran; in consequence of which, together with his opposition to the statute of the six articles, he was compelled to leave the University about the year 1539; and was afterwards made chaplain and steward to Sir Thomas Arundel, of Devonshire, a Catholic gentleman, who, soon discovering his principles, discharged him. He then proceeded into France, but very shortly returned to England, where being in danger of discovery by the Papists, he escaped in disguise to Ireland, and thence to Switzerland; there, by the advice of Bullinger, he married a Burgundian lady. After the accession of King Edward VI. he visited London, where he frequently preached the reformed doctrines; and, in 1549, became an accuser of Bishop Bonner, who was by his means deprived of his bishoprick. This act undoubtedly made him an object of persecution in the succeeding reign[8]. On the 26th of April, 1552, Hooper surrendered his See to the crown, and upon Dr. Heath's being deprived of that of Worcester in the same year, the former was converted into an Archdeaconry, dependant on Worcester; but the privileges of the Dean and Chapter were continued. The Bishoprick was afterwards given to Hooper, with authority to appoint the Prebendaries in both Cathedrals; but in the month of September, the same year, a letter was sent him for the surrender of his See, in order that there might be a new presentation thereto; and on the 8th of December following, the two

[6] Athen. Oxon. edit. 1815, ii. 755.

[7] Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 538.

[8] Ibid. i. 222.

Bishopricks were united, the Diocesan to be called the Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, and to live one year alternately in each city. This union, however, continued no longer than the reign of Edward the Sixth, by whom it was granted[9].

As Bishop Hooper had strenuously opposed both Gardiner and Bonner, it is but natural that they should manifest a particular enmity to him; and when the King died, it was resolved to make Hooper one of the first sacrifices to the new monarch's bigotry. Soon after the accession of Queen Mary, about the end of August, 1553, he was therefore summoned to London, and on the 1st of September, following, committed to the Fleet prison, where he remained some months[10]. On the 18th of March, 1553-4, his Bishoprick was declared void; and on the 28th of January, in the following year, he was placed before Bishop Gardiner and others, in the church of St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, for examination; when, refusing to retract the doctrines he had propagated, he was condemned to be burnt as an obstinate heretic. The Queen's pardon was offered to him, on condition that he changed his faith, but this he refused, and his sentence was put in execution. Having been deprived of his priesthood in Newgate, he was after a few days interval removed to Gloucester, the place especially appointed by the order for his execution, because the scene of his former heresies[11]. On the 9th of February, 1555, he was chained to a stake, near an elm tree, on the north-west side of the lower churchyard, and burnt to death by three successive fires made of green wood[12]. [The order for his execution is printed in the new edition of the Monasticon; and a monument is raised to his memory at the place of his murder.]

James Brookes, D. D. was elected Bishop, March 26, consecrated in the church of St. Saviour, Southwark, the 1st of April, and had restitution of the temporalities on the 8th of May, 1554. Before his promotion to this See, he had been a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and afterwards Master of Baliol College, and Chaplain, or Almoner to Bishop Gardiner.

[9] Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 538.

[10] Wood's Athen. Oxon. edit. 1815, i. 222.

[11] Mon. Ang. ut supr.

[12] Fosbrooke's Hist. Glouc. p. 186.

Unlike his predecessor, he was a zealous papist; and, in 1556, was delegated by the Pope for the examination and trial of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, when they publicly advocated the Protestant religion[13]. After his death, which occurred, according to the Monasticon, on the 7th of September, 1558, or, as Wood says, the beginning of February, 1558-9, the custody of the temporalities was given to *John Bowisher*, D. D. who was nominated to the Bishoprick; but the Queen's death prevented his having it. After a vacancy of more than three years,

Richard Cheiney, B. D. Fellow of Pembroke Hall, and afterwards of Christ's College, Cambridge, Archdeacon of Hereford, Rector of Mades-Norton, and of Bishop's Hampton, Vicar of Painswick, Prebendary of Westminster, and of this Church, was elected Bishop on the 9th of March, 1561-2. He was consecrated at Lambeth on the 19th of April, following, and in ten days after, had the Bishoprick of Bristol given to him *in commendam*[14]. Richardson states that he was addicted to Lutheranism, and that in the first convocation of Queen Mary he so zealously opposed Popery, that it was wonderful he escaped with life. On the 20th of April, 1571, he was excommunicated for contumacy; but was absolved on the 12th of May following[15]. He died April the 25th, 1579, and was buried, as his predecessor had been, near Abbot Parker's monument, without any inscription[16]. After a vacancy of two years, during which time the See was held by the Queen, that she might secure the sum of 500*l.* owing for the tenths of the clergy,

John Bullingham, D. D. of Magdalen College, Oxford, Prebendary of Worcester and Lincoln, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, and Rector of Boxwell and Withington, county of Gloucester, was consecrated September 3, 1581[17]; about which time the See of Bristol was given to him *in commendam:* the latter Bishoprick he surrendered on the appointment of Dr. Fletcher, in 1589, but received in lieu thereof the Rectory of Kilmington, or Culmington,

[13] Wood's Athen. Oxon. edit. 1813, i. 315.

[14] Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 538.

[15] De Præsulibus, p. 552.

[16] Rudge's Hist. Glouc. p. 204.

[17] Le Neve's Fasti, p. 101.

county of Somerset[18]. Anthony Wood represents him as a very illiterate man. He died at Kensington on the 20th of May, 1598, and was conveyed to his own Cathedral for interment. His successor was

Godfrey Goldsborough, D. D. of Trinity College, Cambridge, Archdeacon of Worcester, Rector of Stockton, Archdeacon of Salop, Prebendary of London, Hereford, and Worcester, the last of which he held *in commendam* with this See. He was consecrated at Lambeth, November the 12th, 1598; and, after governing six years, died on the 26th of May, 1604, and was buried in a small chapel on the north side of the Lady Chapel, where his monument, with an inscription to his memory, still remains. On his death, *William Tooker*, or *Tucker*, D. D. was nominated to this See by King James the First, but the *congé d'élire* for his election was afterwards revoked in favour of

Thomas Ravis, D. D. a native of Malden, in Surrey, and Dean of Christ's Church, Oxford, who was preferred to this Bishoprick in 1604; in the earlier part of which year he had been appointed one of the Oxford men to translate part of the New Testament[19]. Although promoted to this See at a time when the popular sentiment was unfavourable to episcopacy, yet his conduct, during his stay at Gloucester, secured him the respect of his clergy and of the people committed to his charge. It is said that he made great improvements in the episcopal palace, which his two immediate predccessors had very much neglected. On being translated to London, he was succeeded on the 12th of July, 1607, by

Henry Parry, D. D. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Rector of Bredon, county of Worcester, which he held *in commendam* with the Deanery of Chester. In the earlier part of his life he had been Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, and was afterwards promoted to the See of Rochester, whence he was translated to Gloucester, and about the latter end of September, 1610, was again removed to the Bishoprick of Worcester, where he died the 12th of September, 1616. King James the First said that he never heard a better or more eloquent preacher[20]. He was very charitable to the

[18] Willis's Surv. Cath. i. 722. [19] Wood's Athen. Oxon. ed. 1815, ii. 849. [20] Ibid. 192.

poor: among other improvements, he built the pulpit that stood in Willis's time in the nave of the Church, but has since been removed. On his translation to Worcester, he was succeeded by

Giles Thomson, D. D. of University College, Oxford, Fellow of All Souls, Reader of Divinity in Magdalen College, Oxford, Rector of Pembridge, Canon of Hereford, and Dean of Windsor. He was consecrated on the 9th of June, 1611, and had restitution of the temporalities on the 27th of the same month, with permission to keep his Deanery *in commendam* for one year, and no longer[21]. This new dignity he never enjoyed, for he died in the year following his consecration, without ever having visited his Diocess[22]. He was buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, where, by the inscription on his monument, it appears that he was a native of London, and died at the age of fifty-nine[23].

Miles Smith, D. D. first a Member of Corpus Christi College, then of Brazen-nose, Oxford, was successively Rector of Hartlebury, and Upton-upon-Severn, county of Worcester, Prebendary of Exeter, Fellow of Chelsea College, and Canon Residentiary of Hereford[24], was consecrated at Croydon, September the 20th, 1612. He is described as having been a man of extraordinary knowledge, both in the classical and oriental languages, which gained him the name of "the walking library." King James appointed him one of the translators of the Bible; for which he wrote the preface, and translated the four major and twelve minor prophets, and was rewarded by his promotion to this See[25]. Sir Robert Atkyns calls him a stiff Calvinist, and a great favourer of the Puritans. Dying at Gloucester, on the 19th of October, 1624, he was buried in the Lady Chapel, under a plain stone, without any inscription[26].

Godfrey Goodman, D. D. of Trinity College, Cambridge, Dean of Rochester, Prebendary of Westminster, Rector of Kemerton, in the Gloucester Diocess, and of West Ilesley, county of Berks, and Canon of Windsor;

[21] Wood's Athen. Oxon. edit. 1815, ii. 850.
[22] Atkyns's Hist. Glouc. p. 31.
[23] Pote's Windsor, p. 372.
[24] Fosbrooke's Hist. Glouc. p. 188.
[25] Wood, ut supra, p. 359.
[26] Rudge's Hist. Glouc. p. 207.

of which benefices, the two last were held *in commendam*. He was consecrated the 6th of March, 1624; in 1640 he was suspended, and his See sequestered by Archbishop Laud, for not subscribing to the canons; having been committed to the Gate-house, "he there got (says Fuller) by his restraint what he could never have gained by his liberty, namely, of one reputed Popish to become for a short time popular, as the only confessor suffering for not subscribing the canons[27]." Shortly afterwards he changed his opinions, and was restored to his Bishoprick. In the time of the Commonwealth he participated in the persecutions of the Episcopal Church; and, according to the continuator of Godwin, published a book in which, by servile compliments, he in vain attempted to engage the compassion of Cromwell[28]. Dying on the 19th of January, 1655, he was buried in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, where a short memorial states that he was insane.

William Nicholson, D. D. Archdeacon of Brecknock, Canon residentiary of St. David's, and Rector of Bishop's Cleeve, was elected by the interest of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, on the 26th of November, 1660, with license to keep his Archdeaconry and Rectory *in commendam*. His consecration did not take place until the 6th of January[29]. Wood says he was a native of Suffolk, and received his education at Magdalen College, Oxford. In 1615, he was Chaplain to Henry, Earl of Northumberland, then a prisoner in the Tower; and in the following year was made Master of the Free School at Croydon, in Surrey, where he remained until 1629, and did not receive his diploma of D. D. until his appointment to this See. Among his writings are "A plain but full Exposition of the Catechism, 1655." An "Apology for the Discipline of the Antient Church, intended especially for the Church of England, 1659." The "Exposition of the Apostles' Creed, delivered in several Sermons, 1661, fol." and "An easy Analysis of the whole Book of Psalms, 1662, fol." He died at Gloucester, on the 5th of February, 1671, and was buried in a small chapel on the south side of the Lady Chapel, where a monument and inscription to his memory still remain.

[27] Church Hist. b. xi. p. 170.

[28] De Præsulibus, p. 554.

[29] Le Neve's Fasti, p. 102.

JOHN PRICKETT, PRICKET, or PRICHARD, D. D. of Queen's College, Oxford, was elected to this See the 10th of October, 1672; being permitted to hold *in commendam* his previous preferments, viz. the Vicarage of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London, the Rectory of Harlington, in Middlesex, and the Prebend of Mora, in St. Paul's Cathedral, London[30]. He died on the 1st of January, 1680, and was buried at Harefield, county of Middlesex[31]. On the 28th of the same month he was succeeded by

ROBERT FRAMPTON, D. D. of Corpus Christi College, and afterwards of Christ's Church, Oxford, where he took a degree in arts in 1641. Soon after the breaking out of the rebellion, he retired to his native place, Pimpern, in the county of Dorset, where he became a schoolmaster; he shortly afterwards was chaplain to a man of a war, and after that to a company of merchants, trading to Aleppo. In the latter capacity he continued about twelve years, when, returning home, he was made chaplain to Robert, Earl of Aylesbury (or, as some say, to the Earl of Elgin), in whose family he married, and then sailed to Aleppo, where he continued four years, more. Again visiting his own country, he had conferred on him the Prebend of Torliton, in the Church of Salisbury; and in 1673 was made Dean of Gloucester, and so continued until his preferment to the Bishoprick, to which he was consecrated on the 27th of March, 1681, with license to hold *in commendam* the livings of Fontmell and Oakford-fitz Pain, in the county of Dorset. These he afterwards resigned for those of Avening and Standish in this Diocess[32]. On the abdication of James II. and the consequent elevation of the Prince of Orange to the throne of England, Bishop Frampton, among many others, refused to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and was in consequence deprived of this Bishoprick, the revenues of which were sequestered into the Treasury; and the jurisdiction, by commission of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, conferred on Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Sarum. After his deprivation, he retired to his living of Standish, where he died in 1708, and was buried in the chancel of the Church. A dilapidated monument to his memory still remains.

[30] Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 538. [31] Lysons' Account of the Middlesex Parishes, p. 118.

[32] Wood's Athen. Oxon. edit. 1815, iv. 890.

Edward Fowler, D. D. was the son of a Presbyterian Vicar of Westerleigh, near Bristol, and received his education in the College school of Gloucester. About the beginning of the year 1650, he entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford, of which he was admitted a Chaplain on the 14th of December, 1653; and on the 23d of the same month took the degree of Batchelor of Arts, in that University. Shortly afterwards he retired to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of Master of Arts, and returning to Oxford was incorporated in the same degree in July, 1656. About this time he became Chaplain to Arabella, Countess Dowager of Kent, who gave him the Rectory of Northhill, Bedfordshire; whence he removed to the Rectory of All-hallows, Bread Street, London. In December, 1675, he became one of the Prebendaries of Gloucester, and, in the latter end of 1680, was made Vicar of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, upon which he resigned the living of All-hallows. In 1685, he had a dispute with his parishioners, who accused him of whiggism, and of admitting to the communion excommunicated persons before they were absolved; to disprove this charge, he preached a sermon before them, on the 15th of November, 1685; this did not, however, give the desired satisfaction, for it appears that in the December following, after a trial at Doctors' Commons between him and his parishioners, he was suspended for having done several things contrary to the canons of the church. After the Revolution he was amply rewarded, being, in 1691, raised to this See, where he remained until his death, which occurred at Chelsea, on the 26th of August, 1714[33]. He was buried on the north side of the yard of Hendon Church, Middlesex, in the chancel of which a monument is erected to his memory. His writings are numerous, and though they might be popular and useful at the time, are not calculated to obtain many readers now[34].

[33] Wood's Athen. Oxon. edit. 1815, iv. 612.

[34] Among his numerous sermons and pamphlets may be named the following, "The Principles and Practices of certain moderate Divines of the Church of England, abusively called Latitudinarians, truly represented and defended, 1671." "The Design of Christianity; or a plain Demonstration and Improvement of this Proposition, viz. That the enduing Men with real Righteousness, or true Holiness, was the ultimate End of our Saviour's coming into the World, and is the great Intendment of his blessed Gospel, 1671." "Dirt wiped off; or, a manifest

Richard Willis, D. D. a native of Bewdley, county of Worcester, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, King's Chaplain, Chaplain General to the Army, and Sub-preceptor to the Duke of Gloucester[35], was elected Bishop, December the 10th, 1714, holding a Prebendal Stall in Westminster, and the Deanery of Lincoln, *in commendam.* Hence he was translated to the See of Salisbury in 1721, and thence to Winchester in 1725. He died August the 10th, 1734, and was buried in Winchester Cathedral[36].

Joseph Wilcocks, D. D. born at Bristol, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and a Prebendary of Westminster, was elected the 25th of November, 1721. Ten years afterwards he was translated to Rochester, which he held with the Deanery of Westminster, annexed, refusing all higher preferment, even that of the Archbishoprick of York. Dying on the 9th of March, 1756, he was buried in Westminster Abbey Church, the western towers of which had been built during his government, as Dean[37].

Elyas Sydall, D. D. born at Norwich, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, a Prebendary and afterwards Dean of that Church, was translated to this See from that of St. David's on the 4th of November, 1731, and held the Bishoprick, with the Deanery above mentioned, till his death, on the 24th of December, 1733[38]. After his death a dispute of considerable warmth, though of short duration, ensued respecting his successor. The Lord Chancellor (son of Bishop Talbot) solicited it for his friend, Dr. Rundle, but was refused on account of doubts entertained of that gentleman's principles by Dr. Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London. During this contention some pamphlets were

Discovery of the gross Ignorance, Erroneousness, and most unchristian and wicked Spirit of one John Bunyan, Lay-preacher in Bedford, which he hath shewed in a vile Pamphlet published by him against the Design of Christianity, 1672." And "Libertas Evangelica: or, A Discourse of Christian Liberty."

[35] De Præsulibus, p. 245, and Furney's MSS.

[36] Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 539. See the author's History, &c. of Winchester Cathedral.

[37] Brayley's History of Westminster Abbey, vol. ii. p. 235; and Harding's Account of the Deans of Westminster.

[38] De Præsulibus, p. 556.

published by each party, but Dr. Rundle was ultimately promoted to the Bishoprick of Derry, in Ireland, and his friend

Martin Benson, D. D. of Cambridge, but some time student of Christ's Church, Oxford, was consecrated to the vacant See of Gloucester on the 19th of January, 1734-5. He was born at Cradley, in Herefordshire, April 23, 1689, and became successively a Prebendary of Sarum and of Durham, Archdeacon of Berks, and Rector of Bletchley, county of Bucks. He new paved the choir of the Cathedral, in 1741, erected stone pinnacles to the Lady Chapel, and repaired the episcopal palace, at a very considerable expense. On his election he declared his resolution of refusing any promotion; and died at the palace here, August 30, 1752, and was buried in this Cathedral.

William Johnson, D. D. second Master of Westminster School, King's Chaplain, and Canon residentiary of St. Paul's, succeeded; the *congé d'élire* for his election being dated October 24, 1752. He was translated to Worcester in 1759[39], and being killed by a fall from his horse, at Bath, in 1774, was buried in Laycock Church, Wiltshire[40].

William Warburton, D. D. the friend of Pope, and the editor of his works, was next advanced to this See, in compliment to his learning and powerful talents. The *congé d'élire* for his election passed December 22, 1759[41]. His father was Mr. George Warburton, attorney and town clerk of Newark upon Trent, at which place the subject of this memoir was born the 24th of December, 1698. Originally intended for the profession of the law, he was articled to a solicitor at East Markham, county of Notts, with whom he served his clerkship. Want of business is the cause assigned for his relinquishing this profession, and entering the church, in which he probably had reason to hope for preferment, for it appears that Archbishop Dawes ordained him Deacon on the 22d of December, 1723, and five years afterwards, Sir Robert Sutton presented him to the Rectory of Brant-Broughton, in the diocess of Lincoln. Here he spent the prime of his life in studious retirement, devoted entirely to letters; and in this seclusion, planned, and in

[39] Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 539.

[40] Rudge's Hist. Glouc. p. 224. See also the author's Beauties of Wiltshire, vol. iii.

[41] Mon. Ang. ut supra.

part executed, some of his most important literary works. In 1746 he became Preacher of Lincoln's Inn, and in 1754 was appointed one of his Majesty's Chaplains in ordinary; the following year he was made a Prebendary of Durham, in 1757 Dean of Bristol, and two years afterwards advanced to this See.

He died June the 7th, 1779, in his eighty-first year, and was buried in the Cathedral of Gloucester, where a marble monument is erected to his memory by Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, who has thus characterized him: "He possessed those virtues which are so important in society, truth, probity, and honour, in the highest degree. He had an ardent love of virtue, and the most sincere zeal for religion. He venerated the civil constitution of his country, and was warmly attached to the Church of England. His love of letters was extreme, and his disposition to countenance all those in whom he perceived any kind of literary merit the most prompt and generous. As a writer and a divine it is not easy to find terms that will do justice to his merits. His reading was various and extensive, and his discernment exquisite. In a word, he possessed in a high degree those two qualities of a great writer, *sapere et fari;* that is, superior sense, and the power of doing justice to it by a sound and manly eloquence. The character of his style is freedom and force united: it was properly his own, and what we call *original.* In controversial compositions, he was so much superior to himself, that barely to say he excelled in it is a poor and scanty praise. As a divine, properly so called, he filled and adorned that character with the highest ability. Strength of reason, exquisite learning, a critical knowledge of antiquity, an enlarged view of the scheme of revelation, were possessed by him, in a high degree, to which must be added that first and noblest quality, a perfect honesty of mind, and sincere love of truth, which governed his pen in all his religious inquiries."

Warburton's first printed work appeared in 1723, under the title of "Miscellaneous Translations, in Prose and Verse, from Roman Poets, Orators, and Historians." About 1726, he communicated to Theobald some notes on Shakspeare, which afterwards appeared in that critic's edition of our great dramatic poet. In 1727, he published "A Critical and Philosophical Inquiry into the Causes of Prodigies and Miracles, as related by Historians;"

also "The Legal Judicature in Chancery stated." The publication which attracted most publicity was "The Alliance between Church and State, or the Necessity and Equity of an Established Religion and a Test Law, demonstrated from the Essence and End of Civil Society upon the fundamental Principles of the Law of Nature and Nations." The first volume of the "Divine Legation of Moses" was published in January, 1737-8, and produced several answers, when he printed "A Vindication of the Author of the Divine Legation of Moses from the Aspersions of the Country Clergyman's Letter in 'The Monthly Miscellany' of February 14, 1737-8." In 1739-40, he published "A Vindication of Mr. Pope's Essay on Man;" and afterwards "A Critical and Philosophical Commentary" on the same work. In 1730, appeared "Julian; or, A Discourse concerning the Earthquake and Fiery Eruption which defeated that Emperor's attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem." He edited an edition of Pope's Works in 1751; and produced numerous sermons and tracts on controversial subjects: "His master-faculty was reason, and his master-science was theology." Quar. Rev.

Mr. D'Israelli, in "Quarrels of Authors," says, "the name of Warburton is more familiar to us than his works:" and Edwards, in "Canons of Criticism," remarks that this prelate's works "are more known than read." D'Israelli continues, in imitation of Warburton's style, "The literary fame of Warburton was a portentous meteor; it seemed unconnected with the whole planetary system through which it rolled, and it was imagined to be darting amidst new creations, as the tail of each hypothesis blazed with idle fancies. Such extraordinary notions cannot be looked on with calm admiration, nor common hostility; all is the tumult of wonder about such a man; and his adversaries as well as his friends, though differently affected, are often overcome by the same astonishment[42]."

The Honourable James Yorke, LL.D. of Bennet College Cambridge, where he proceeded M. A. in 1752, and D. D. in 1770, succeeded Bishop Warburton. The youngest son of Lord Chancellor Hardwick, he was

[42] See an able review of the character and writings of Warburton in the work here referred to, also in "The Quarterly Review," vol. vii.; and for biographical materials see Nichols's "Literary Anecdotes," and a volume of "Letters from a late eminent Prelate to one of his Friends," 8vo. 1809.

successively appointed to the Deanery of Lincoln, and to the Bishoprick of St. David's, whence he was translated to this See, on the 6th of July, 1779; and on the decease of Bishop Keene, two years afterwards, removed to that of Ely, in which he sat for more than twenty-seven years. His death was caused by apoplexy, on the 26th of August, 1808, at Forthampton, county of Gloucester, where his remains are deposited in a vault which he had prepared for himself and family [43]. His successor,

Samuel Hallifax, LL. D. was the eldest son of Mr. Samuel Hallifax, an apothecary at Chesterfield, county of Derby, at which place he was born, January 18, 1733. He obtained the Chancellor's gold medal for some prize dissertations at Jesus College, Cambridge, where, in 1754, he took the degree of A. B. and that of A. M. three years afterwards; he then removed to Trinity Hall, where he proceeded LL. D. in 1764. In the following November he was presented to the Rectory of Chaddington, county of Bucks; in 1768 elected Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, which he resigned in 1770, on being made Regius Professor of Civil Law. In this situation he acquired considerable eminence by a work entitled "An Analysis of the Civil Law." He was appointed Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty in February, 1774; in the year following created D. D. by royal mandate, and on the death of Dr. Topham succeeded him as Master of the Faculties in Doctors' Commons. From the Marquis of Rockingham he received, in 1778, the Rectory of Worksop, county of Notts, and on the 8th of October, 1781, was advanced to this See, from whence he was translated to that of St. Asaph in 1789, being the first English Bishop thus removed to a Welsh bishoprick. He died on the 4th of March, 1790, at the age of fifty-seven, and was buried at Worksop. Bishop Hallifax published at various times fourteen sermons, lectures on civil law, and some theological works. His sermons at Bishop Warburton's lectures are much esteemed, and his Analysis of Bishop Butler's Apology (a book abstruse and metaphysical) annexed to the charge he published of that Bishop to his Clergy, displays eloquence of style and profundity of thinking [44].

[43] Gent's. Mag. for 1808, Pt. II. p. 856.

[44] Gents. Mag. for 1790, Pt. I. p. 281.

Richard Beadon, D. D. of St. John's College, Cambridge, succeeded. This Prelate was a native of Somersetshire, and educated at Tiverton school. In 1758 he stood high among the wranglers of his college for his degree, and was also a successful candidate for one of the prizes for the best dissertation in Latin prose. Having proceeded B. A. the same year, and A. M. in 1764, he became Fellow of St. John's College, and was appointed Orator of his University. The present Duke of Gloucester, when sent to Cambridge, was entrusted to the peculiar care of Dr. Beadon, who by his conduct secured the royal favour, and paved the way to his subsequent high promotion in the church. His preferments were the Rectories of Orset, and Stanford Rivers, in Essex, the Chancellorship of St. David's, the Archdeaconry of London, to which he was appointed in 1775, and the Mastership of Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1781. The latter of these he surrendered on his advancement to this Bishoprick, on the 30th of May, 1789; and the former on his translation to Bath and Wells, in 1802. He died at Bath, on the 21st of April, 1824, and was removed to, and interred in the Cathedral Church of Wells on the 30th of the same month [45].

George Isaac Huntingford, D. D. Warden of Winchester College, was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester on the 27th of June, 1802, and being translated to Hereford on the 23d of June, 1815, was succeeded by

The Hon. Henry Ryder, D. D. brother of the Earl of Harrowby, and Dean of Wells. His Lordship's first preferments were the livings of Lutterworth and Claybrook, in Leicestershire. In 1803 he was preferred to a Canonry of Windsor, exchanged in 1812 for the Deanery of Wells. In August, 1815, he was consecrated to this See, upon which he resigned his two livings, but retained his Deanery, *in commendam*. On his translation to the Bishoprick of Lichfield and Coventry, in 1824,

Christopher Bethell, D. D. formerly Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, made Rector of Kirkby-Wiske in 1808, Dean of Chichester in 1814, was consecrated Bishop of this See April 11, 1824.

[45] Gents. Mag. 1824, Pt. I. p. 459.

Chap. III.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE ERECTION AND ALTERATION OF DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE CHURCH, WITH DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNTS OF THE WHOLE EDIFICE, AND OF ITS COMPONENT MEMBERS, ELUCIDATED BY THE SEVERAL ENGRAVINGS ACCOMPANYING THIS ESSAY.

Of an antient edifice which has braved the inclemencies of many seasons, and the vicissitudes of many centuries, which exhibits several varieties of design and style in its architecture, and which also contains some features of singular and unique character, it is an object of laudable research to ascertain the times when, and persons by whom the different portions have been executed. In spite of all the zeal, diligence, and learning that have hitherto been exerted to elucidate this history, we are still in doubt, or ignorance on many points. The previous pages contain some facts respecting certain parts of the building, derived from an authority which seems quite satisfactory; but we seek in vain for evidence of the new erection, or alteration of several other parts of the Church, and its appendent members. Although it appears to have been the duty of certain registrars and chroniclers of the old monasteries to keep accounts of the various events, expenses, and domestic affairs belonging to each house, many of which have fortunately descended to our times; yet their records relating to buildings, and monuments, were either very scanty, or have been mostly destroyed. Few have hitherto been abstracted from their archives, and we therefore hail with more than common pleasure every incidental notice and detailed account which we meet with in travelling over a wide waste of barren country. From Abbot Froucester, whose collections have afforded us so much light in this mazy way, we have gleaned some material evidence, which may serve as so many land marks to guide us in our inquiries and deductions; these,

however, are only "few and far between," and leave many chasms to be filled up in completing a regular, consecutive narrative.

To the accounts of this Cathedral published by the Society of Antiquaries, and to those of other writers, it will be necessary to make reference, in order to profit by the researches and opinions of all, and thence endeavour to produce a rational and satisfactory history of the fabric. Aided by the accompanying graphic illustrations, it is hoped that this essay will be at once intelligible and interesting to all classes of readers; and whilst those who have not previously studied the subject may derive some degree of amusement from the various historical and biographical memoranda with which it is connected, the antiquary and the architect will alike feel much gratification in the elucidation of every fact, and in the display of every characteristic feature of such a noble edifice as that now under review.

By reference to the annexed *Ground Plan*, the reader will readily perceive the general form, arrangement, and distribution of the Church, and of its appendant buildings. The former consists of a south porch, nave, and ailes; a north and south transept; a choir, with ailes, the latter of which are continued round the eastern, or altar end; a Lady Chapel, to the east; and some chapels branching off from the north-east and south-east ends of the ailes of the choir, and other chapels at the eastern side of the transept. To the north of the Church is a regular, perfect cloister, with some recesses at the north-west end, of rather unusual character. Branching off from the eastern walk of the cloister, is an oblong chapter house, between which and the north transept is a slyp, or long passage. At the south west angle of the cloister is another apartment, forming at present part of the Deanery, but which was formerly a portion of the Prior's dwelling. Such are the component parts of the edifice, which may be said to constitute the ground floor, and which are all indicated, both as to situation, proportion, and horizontal dimension, in the *Plan*. The substructure, or crypt, beneath the choir, its ailes and chapels, also the superstructure of walls, openings, roofs, and tower, with the respective characteristic features, styles, and varied decorations, will be displayed in the different engravings. By these, and such descriptive particulars as may seem requisite, it is hoped that we shall render the

Drawn by W. H. Bartlett.

Engraved by J Le Keux

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

VIEW OF THE CRYPT LOOKING EAST.

TO J PHILLIMORE HICKS ESQ^R^ of Eastington House
an admirer of the Fine Arts. this Plate is inscribed by the Author.

London Published May 1. 1829. by Longman & C^o^ Paternoster Row

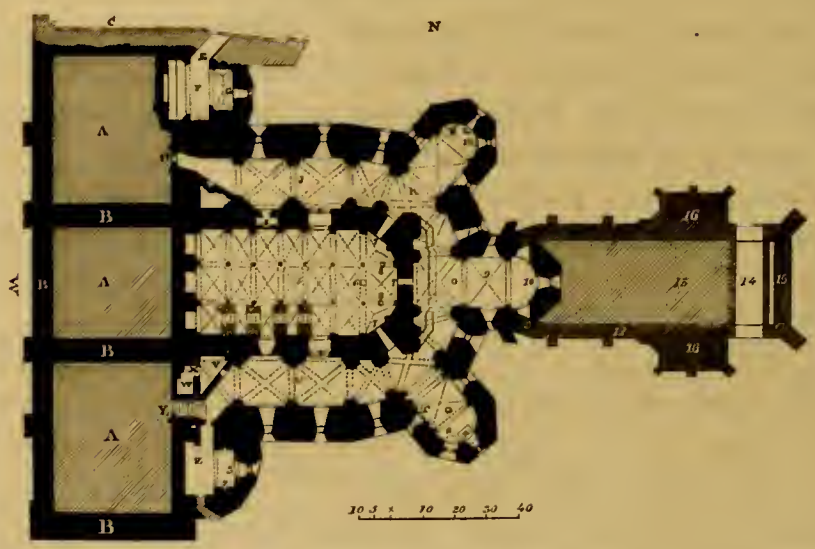
Printed by Rapkin

elucidation of this Cathedral clear and intelligible to every reader. Instead of adopting the common-place routine of the ciceroni, or guide, we propose to commence with the oldest part of the edifice, and proceed to notice all its divisions, either according to the dates when they were respectively erected, or as they are indicated by the styles of the architecture. And here it may not be irrelevant to remark, that the Christian architects of the middle ages were prone to perpetual change and reform in the designs for their buildings. On this subject they seem to have indulged in a latitude of fancy, and either at certain epochs, or after a style, or species of building had continued in fashion a few years, they invented and adopted another, which was generally more ornamental than the former. It is however a very interesting and remarkable fact, that nearly all the ecclesiastical edifices of this country, which are of contemporaneous ages, are of a corresponding, or very similar style. From Durham, in the north, to Cornwall, in the west, and in the intermediate counties, a coincidence of system will be found to be very generally, if not always manifested. It is not easy to account for this uniformity in the architecture of churches, at places remote from each other, by any other clue than by considering that each new style originated at, or emanated from some convocation, or assembly of the monastic builders, or free-masons of each respective era. It would not be difficult to exemplify these remarks by reference to numerous buildings; but the discussion might be considered irrelevant in this place: and it is only thus incidentally introduced for the sake of justifying any opinion which may hereafter be given respecting the dates of such particular portions of the Cathedral Church of Gloucester as are not verified by record.

It may be fairly assumed of this, as of other old churches, that the most antient parts are its crypt and the essential walls: for one substantial foundation may have been employed to support many superstructures. In the crypt, or undercroft, we find a solidity of construction, and that quantity of masonic material, which seems destined to endure for ages; and we cannot doubt it to be the very oldest part of the building. As shewn by the annexed *plan of the crypt*, compared with the ground plan of the whole Church (both to the same scale), it is seen that the foundation wall, the divisions, within, the four lateral chapels, and the foundations of the tower

and transept, all correspond in position, arrangement, and forms; but there are differences in the relative thicknesses of the walls, and in their apertures for windows and doors. In the crypt there are two rows of small columns, extending from east to west, and intended to carry the vaulted roof, on which is laid the flooring of the choir. At the extreme east end is a semi-octagonal chantry chapel, nearly corresponding with two others at the north-east and south-east extremity of the apsis; but in the superstructure, or ground floor, this central chapel is of a different form, and extended to a much greater length: and by the previous narrative we learn that a new Lady Chapel was commenced by Abbot Henley, and completed by Abbot Farley, between the years 1457 and 1498. There can be little doubt that this end of the Church was originally finished with a semi-octagonal chapel, as in the crypt. Whilst the annexed engraving (PLATE XIII.) shews the forms of the central columns, arched roof, and effect of the middle division of the crypt, the plan displays both its open and solid parts. In pointing out the various divisions and peculiarities, by reference to the letters and figures on the latter, it is hoped that the reader will clearly understand the arrangement of this subterraneous portion of the edifice.

PLAN OF THE CRYPT.



ENGRAVED BY BRANSTON AND WRIGHT, FROM A DRAWING BY THE LATE J. CARTER.

A A A, ground beneath the transept and central tower, the foundation walls of which are marked black, at B B B. It may be concluded that the foundations, with their footings, are much wider than is intimated by this dark line, which shews the walls at the base of the windows. C, an arched passage, or avenue, commonly called *the slyp*, between the north transept and the chapter-house, and forming a covered way of communication from the cloister to some of the Monastic offices. E, entrance to a subterraneous chantry-chapel F, in which there was an altar at G. From the eastern side of the north transept was an entrance to the crypt at H, now closed up. I, a hole, or recess in the wall, calculated to puzzle the antiquary, as its original destination is not to be easily defined. If intended as a prison, it is appositely named *Purgatory*, for immurement in such a small, dismal cell, must have been a horrid and cruel punishment[1]. J, north aile, branching from which, at K, is a chantry chapel, with an altar at L, a piscina at M, and a bracket for a light at N. There are four loop-hole windows to this chapel. At O is an entrance to the eastern chantry-chapel, 9, the altar of which was at 10. P, lines shewing the form of the feretory, above. Q, chantry, with altar at R, piscina at S, and ornamented arcade at T. The south aile, U, with recesses, or closets V, W, and X; Z, chantry, with piscina at 2, and altar at 3; entrance to the crypt from the south transept, Y, a view of which is given in PLATE IX. At 4, 6, 8, is modern brickwork, intended to support and strengthen the vaulting. 5, central division, having six columns on each side, and seven arches. The foundations of the modern Lady Chapel, and its two lateral monumental chantries are pointed out by figures 12, 15, and 16, the ground beneath, 13, whilst an open arch-way is shewn at 14.

This fine, spacious, and interesting crypt indicates its Norman origin,

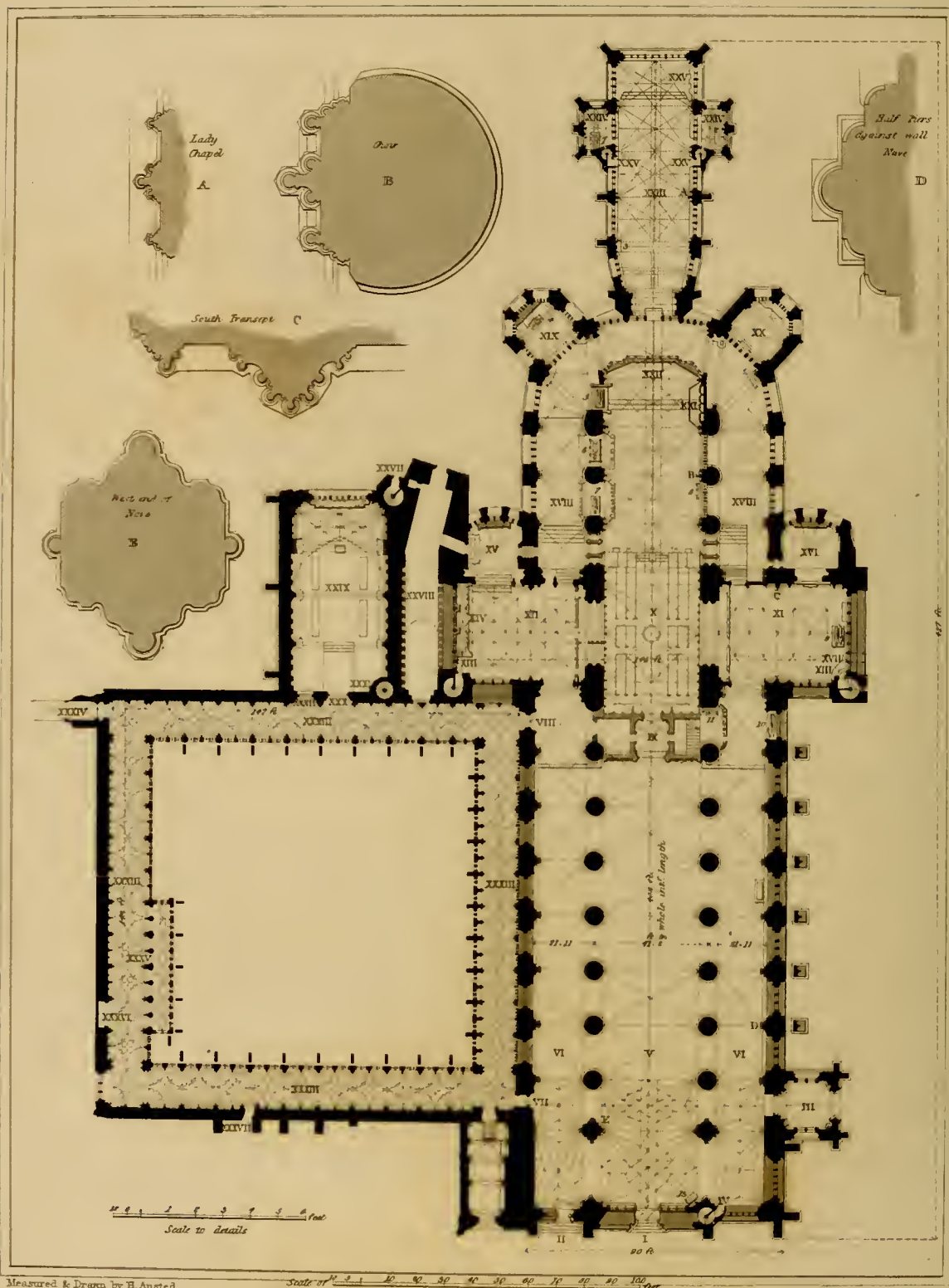
[1] This recess, or dark hole, as well as one at W, and another at F, have all been named *prisons*, or cells for confinement; but it is not likely that there ever were so many places of this description in *one* Monastery. The apartment at F was doubtless a chantry chapel, as there are remains of its altar, piscina, &c.; besides, the Abbey prison was generally part of the lodge, or dwelling of the Master of the Infirmary, who had charge of prisoners. [See Fosbrooke's Brit. Monachism. 4to. 355]. The same author thinks that the Abbey prison at Gloucester was beneath the Infirmary, and that it may be seen in a cellar of one of the prebendal houses.

by the resemblance it bears to some antient crypts beneath churches in Normandy; and we may safely refer its design and erection to Serlo, who was advanced to this Abbey by the Anglo-Norman Monarch, William I. and who it may be supposed had witnessed the construction of some noble churches in his own country[2]. In the same style of architecture, and most likely of coeval design, is the original part of the choir, with its ailes, triforia, and lateral chantry-chapels.

The Abbey Chronicle states, that "Aldred built the Church anew, from the foundation, in 1058;" and the same document also records, that in 1089 the first stone of a new edifice was laid by Robert, Bishop of Hereford, by the procuration of Serlo[3]. The author of the account published by the Society of Antiquaries, considers that the crypt, and the immediate superstructure, are remains of Aldred's Church, "finished and consecrated in 1058." Mr. King, in "Munimenta Antiqua" (iv. 144), contends that the crypt, and even the nave, are of Osric's original foundation, and that neither Aldred nor Serlo had any share in the work. Such opinion however is scarcely entitled to comment, for it is so completely at variance with the Monastic Chroniclers, and with the evidence of styles, that we cannot dwell on it for a moment, or place any confidence in a writer so hypothetical. Mr. Fosbrooke seems inclined to refer the commencement of the Church to Aldred, and the continuance to Serlo: but it is not easy to ascertain his sentiments clearly, for he mixes up his own remarks so much with extracts from the MSS. of Froucester and Furney, and the published accounts of the Society of Antiquaries, Carter, Dallaway, &c. that the reader cannot but be perplexed in the labyrinth thus made. It is certainly of consequence in the

[2] See "*Architectural Antiquities of Normandy*," for Plans of the Churches of Bayeaux, and St. Ouen at Rouen, where there are three chapels at the east end, similarly arranged to those in the crypt at Gloucester.

[3] "Anno Dñi 1058 .... ipse Aldredus *Eeclesiam illam a fundamentis construxit de Novo.*" Again, "hoc anno (1089) *Glouc. ecclesiæ locata sunt fundamenta* ... Roberto Herefordensis Episcopo. *primum lapidem in eo ponente*, agente Serlone Abbate." We further learn from the Chronicle, that in 1100 Samson, Bishop of Worcester, dedicated the Church at Gloucester, which Abbot Serlo had "*built from the foundation:*" and this statement is confirmed by Florence of Worcester.



GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

GROUND PLAN, SHEWING SITES OF MONUMENTS, &c.

Printed by Barnett & Son.

London, Published Feb.y 20. 1828, by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row

history of architecture, to decide whether the oldest part of the Church be really of Anglo-Saxon, or Anglo-Norman origin: but authentic evidence is wanting to demonstrate the fact. By referring to page 7, we find that in the year preceding Serlo's foundation, a fire had burnt, or considerably injured the Abbey: and although it is therefore possible (as conjectured by some writers), that the nave and superstructure of the crypt were reconstructed by Serlo, upon the original foundation of Aldred; yet from analogy, and from the terms in which the Chroniclers speak of the fact, it is more probable that Serlo commenced the work from the foundation.

Before we proceed to notice the dates of other parts of the building, it will be advisable to point out the different divisions and members of the Church by reference to the ground plan.

The Ground Plan, PLATE I. By this delineation the whole arrangement, subdivisions, forms, extent, and peculiarities of the Church, as seen on a ground plane, are indicated: and it may tend to facilitate the clearer understanding of the whole, to point out, in the next place, the names and positions of the several parts. The *interior* area consists of a nave, V., and two ailes, VI.; a choir, X; south transept, XI.; north transept, XII.; chantry-chapels, XV. XVI. XIX. and XX,; an aile, surrounding the choir, XVIII.; the Lady Chapel, XXIII., having two chantry-chapels, XXIV. and XXIV. The exterior appendages, but forming covered apartments, are the south porch, III.; the cloister, XXXIII.; chapter-room, XXIX; slyp[4], or vaulted passage, XXVIII. Other references in the Ground Plan point out, the principal western door-way, I.; the lateral door-way, II.; staircase to triforia and roofs, IV.; entrances from the nave to the cloister, VII. and VIII.; organ-screen, IX.; staircases to galleries and triforia, XIII. A place, sometimes called the treasury, and by some writers a reliquary, and a confessional, XIV.; the chantry-chapel of St. Andrew, XV.; another chantry-chapel, now used as the Minor Canons' vestry, XVI. Beneath the great window of the

[4] In Mr. Carter's Plan this passage is represented at thirteen feet distance from the wall of the north transept, whereas it abuts against that wall. He seems to have been led into this error by shewing the ground plan and first story, both on the ground plane. It is a very singular mistake.

south transept is a door-way, now closed up, commonly called the Pilgrims' Entrance, XVII. On the right hand of the altar are stone seats, with canopies, &c. for the officiating priests, XXI: the altar-screen, executed from a design by Mr. Smirke, XXII.; staircases to apartments over the chantry chapels, XXV. On the south side of the altar, in the Lady Chapel, are stone seats for the priests officiating at that altar, XXV. At the south-east corner of the chapter-room is a staircase to the college school-room, formerly the monastic library, XXVII.; and at the south-west angle is another staircase, now blocked up, XXXI. At XXX. is a door-way with semicircular arch; and at XXXII. a window of corresponding style, to the chapter-room: vaulted passage to little cloister, XXXIV.: lavatory, XXXV. Recess, strangely called the Sudatory, XXXVI.; at XXXVII. is an entrance door-way from the Deanery. Of these different portions and members of the Church it may be remarked, that the columns, ailes, and chantry chapels of the choir, are the oldest in date; then the chapter-room and slyp, the nave next, afterwards the south and north transept, the west end and porch next, the choir afterwards, and lastly the cloister and the Lady Chapel.

In considering the peculiarities of the plan of the Church, we observe that the transepts are short, without any aile or buttresses at the angles, but with two chantry-chapels, diverging from, and communicating with their eastern sides. The choir occupies the whole area under the tower, and with its organ-screen extends to the first column in the nave; its eastern end, as well as its continued aile, take a semicircular, or rather an elliptical sweep, branching out from which are two chantry-chapels, and also a Lady Chapel, of singular design in its plan: it is considerably narrower at the entrance than at the eastern extremity, and that entrance forms a sort of vestibule, or porch. Near the east end are projections on each side in the manner of a transept, formed by two chantry-chapels, which are separated from the principal chapel by open screens. On the north side of the Church is a long passage, or slyp, which formerly communicated at one end with the cloister, and at the other end to part of the monastic offices: there were also door-ways to a crypt, or subterraneous chantry chapel below, and to the library, &c. above. From the cloister there were other openings to the

Drawn by W. H. Bartlett. Engraved by W. Woolnoth.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

VIEW OF THE NAVE; LOOKING EAST.

To the REV.ᵈ J. HOBART SEYMOUR, M.A. one of the Prebendaries of Gloucester Cathedral, this plate is inscribed by the AUTHOR.

London, Published May 1.1829, by Longman & Cᵒ Paternoster Row

Printed by Barnett & Son.

little cloister, at the north-east angle; to the refectory at the north-west, and to the Abbot's dwelling on the west side.

The Chapter-house, or Room, as marked by the Plan, assumes the parallelogramatical form, and is of large dimensions. Its oldest part, is said by some writers, to be Aldred's work, and anterior to the buildings of Serlo: but there is nothing in style or peculiarity of architecture to justify this opinion. The column, archivolt moulding, shape of the arch, and masonry, so nearly resemble the corresponding members in the crypt and Church, that we should not be safe in assigning them to different architects and distinct eras. The claustral buildings, as laid down in the Plan, are on the northern side of the Church; whereas the cloister, chapter-house, and other abbatical buildings were generally placed to the south of the Church. At Lincoln, Lichfield, York, Canterbury, and Southwell, they were on the north side. It is strangely stated by some of the writers on Gloucester Abbey, that those appendages were originally to the south of the Church; but that Aldred laid the foundation of his Church on a new site, to the south of the former, and thus left the cloister, and its appendages to the north.

It is related in Dugdale's Baronage, that Walter de Lacy, who died in 1085, was buried in the chapter-house; and hence it is inferred that the present room was completed before Serlo commenced his Church. But this is fallacious reasoning: for there might have been an *old* chapter-room at that time, either on the site of the present, or even in some other situation.

In the older parts of the Nave we perceive considerable variations from the preceding, and may therefore reasonably consider them to have been of a different age. In the account by the Society of Antiquaries, this part is said to have been the last of Abbot Serlo's works. It is further recorded, that the vaulted ceiling was completed in 1242, during the Abbacy of Foliot. According to the Abbey Chronicle this work was not effected in the usual manner by common labourers, but by the personal exertions of the Monks[5].

[5] Manual labour was not unfrequent among the Monks of this period. More than eighty Monks were employed at one time in building the Church of St. Galgano, near Sienna, which was finished in 1268. Della Valle, Lettere Senesi, v. ii. p. 18. The Church of St. Mary at Dunes

The *southern transept*, called in the Chronicle the aile of St. Andrew, though said to have been built in 1163, has been so much altered that very few of its original architectural members are now remaining. Mr. Fosbrooke says, that on examining the Church in 1796 he saw an iuscription on the exterior wall of the transept, with the name of William Pipard, who was Sheriff of the county in the year above named. The lower part of the walls, with the buttresses, pedimental arcades, and other members, are indicative of that date: but the windows and principal ornaments are of much later workmanship.

The *south aile of the nave*, of a totally different character to any other part of the Church, was built, according to Froucester, by Abbot Thokey, between 1307 and 1329, "at a great and sumptuous expense." Its windows, buttresses, parapet, &c. are peculiar in form, ornaments, and style. (See Plates iv. and viii.) Windows of similar design are to be seen in the Churches of Leominster, and Ledbury in Herefordshire, and in the Mayor's Chapel at Bristol, but I do not know of any similar buttresses.

The erection of the elegant and truly splendid *Monument for Edward II.* about 1334, brought a new class of artists to the Church; and the fame it acquired, and the riches it produced, occasioned the Abbot and Monks to direct their attention and funds to adorn and beautify their sacred edifice. A complete revolution of style and character was made in the whole of the choir: which, in the true Norman manner, had been previously plain, simple, and unadorned; but which was now rendered elaborate in its architectural and sculptural embellishments. (Vide p. 20).

Abbot Horton, who governed from 1351 to 1377, erected the *high altar*, finished the *presbytery*, and the *stalls* on the Abbot's side of the choir, and in 1372, completed St. Paul's aile, which had been commenced in the year 1367. (Vide page 23.) He appears to have expended on the latter 781*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.*, of which 444*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.* were paid by himself[6]. The cloister

(according to Felibien), was entirely rebuilt at the beginning of the thirteenth century by the members of the Monastery, some of whom made the designs, whilst others executed the masonry, seulpture, &c.

[6] For this fact the chronicler refers to the *rolls of the work*, which are unfortunately lost.

H. Ansted del. 1827. J. Le Keux fc.

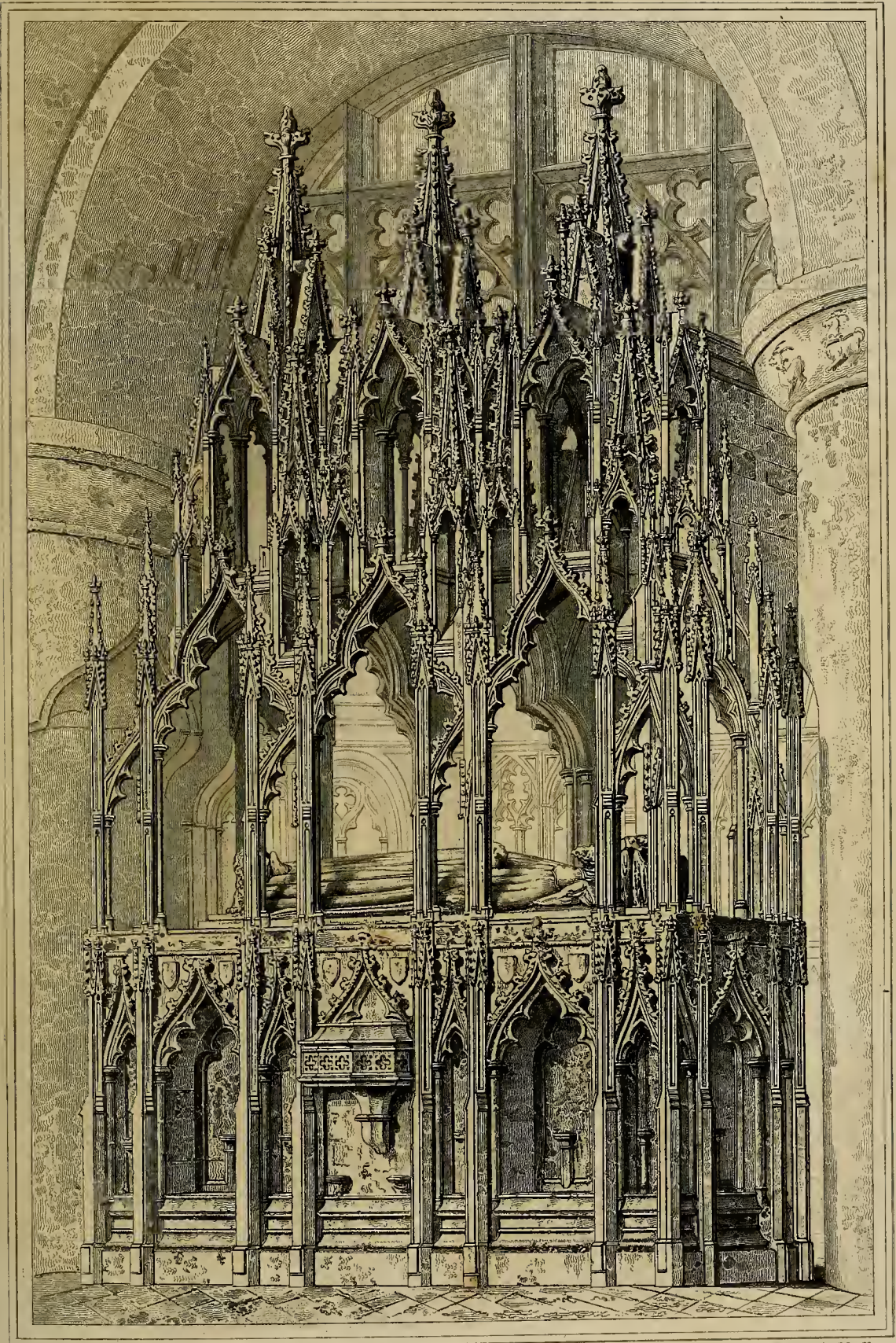
Scale of 0 5 9 10 20 30 feet

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

NAVE:—COMPARTMENT, INTERIOR & EXTERIOR.

Printed by Barnett & Son

London. Published March 1. 1828, by Longman & Co Paternoster Row.



Drawn by H. Ansted, 1827. Engraved by J. Le Keux.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

MONUMENT OF KING EDWARD II.

To the REV^D JOHN BISHOP, M.A. this plate is inscribed with sentiments of esteem by THE AUTHOR.

Printed by Hayward.

London, Published July 1, 1828, by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row.

Measured & Drawn by H. Ansted Oct. 1826

Scale of 40 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 feet

J. Le Keux fc.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

SECTION THRO' THE 2ᵈ COMPARTMENT FROM WEST END.

London. Published March 1. 1828. by Longman & Cº Paternoster Row

Printed by Hayward

was begun by this Abbot, who is supposed to have constructed the whole of the south walk, and parts of the west and east sides.

Between 1381 and 1412, Walter Froucester completed the *cloister*, from the door of the chapter-house to the northern extremity.

Abbot Morwent, between 1420 and 1437, built the *west front*, with two arches and pillars at the end of the nave, and the fine *southern porch*.

Abbot Seabrooke pulled down the old tower, and commenced the present splendid *tower*, about 1454, which was completed by Tully, a monk of the house.

Between 1457 and 1472 Abbot Henley began the *Lady Chapel*, which was finished by Farley, his successor, before 1498.

Abbot Malverne, about 1500, built a *vestry* at the end of the north transept, and also a *monumental chapel*, for his own interment.

Having pointed out such dates of such parts of the Church as have been preserved by the chroniclers and historians, I proceed to notice the features delineated in the accompanying prints: first, adverting to the exterior, and secondly, to the interior. The Ground Plan shews the arrangement of the walls, and the buttresses at the west end, on the south side of the choir aile, and to the Lady Chapel. It will be observed that there are no such props or stays to the transept, or to the choir. PLATES II. IV. V. VI. and XVIII. display the general features and architectural members of the exterior of the Church, as seen in perspective. Geometrical representations of a division of the nave and of the south aile, are given in PLATE VIII.; and the western side of the north transept is shewn in PLATE XVI. The *western front*, PLATE II., exhibits a singular design, and some beautiful members. Formerly there were two towers at this end of the Church, as at Southwell, Rippon, York, &c.; but Abbot Morwent took them down, and made an entirely new composition for the present façade. This is certainly unlike the corresponding front of any Cathedral in England; and though it cannot compete with the splendid elevations of York, Peterborough, or Wells, it far surpasses many of the other Cathedrals. The pierced parapets over the door-way, and at the summit, with the ooen buttresses to the great window, are evidences of fanciful design, whilst the two clustered pinnacles, at the

angles, constitute elegant and tasteful ornaments. The horizontal line of the parapet, coming before, and concealing the gable end of the roof, is very uncommon; and by carrying the outer moulding of the window through this work, and terminating it with enriched crockets and a finial, the artist has evinced his taste. We cannot however compliment him on the style, or modes of finishing the two door-ways. At the northern angle of this front is a small part of the old Priory, wherein we perceive specimens of the later circular, and first pointed styles, combined; and which, according to the opinion of the writer of "the Account," published by the Society of Antiquaries, "abundantly disprove the system of those who would derive the pointed style of the thirteenth century from a Saracenic source."

In the *southern porch* we see another and finer specimen of the architectural style of Abbot Morwent's time. Its whole exterior design, form, character, and ornamental dressings are expressed in the accompanying engraving, PLATE IV. The pinnacles at the angles resemble those of the great tower, whilst the parapet and ogee arched rib, the pannelled dressing over the door-way, and the form and the ornaments of the latter, all partake of the same style as the west front. On each side of this door-way are empty niches, and six others, with pedestals and canopies, adorn the second story of the porch. In the spandrels of the door-way are shields with armorial bearings, which formerly corresponded with those at the west end, viz. the arms of France and England, and those of the Abbey. It will be seen by reference to the Plate now under notice, that the western division in the clerestory is wider than that next to the east, that there are three instead of two embrasures in the parapet,—that the pinnacles and attached buttresses differ in form and character, and that the window is of another design. The third buttress, from the west end, indicates its original Norman character, being a sort of pilaster, with indented zigzag at the angles. A perspective view of one of the fine and highly ornamented buttresses, and one of the windows of Thokey's building, about 1320, are shewn in this Print. An elevation of two of these buttresses and a window, with the clerestory window, and flat buttresses, are given to a larger scale, and in geometrical proportions, in PLATE VIII. Others of these buttresses and

Drawn by W.H.Bartlett Engraved by R. Sands.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

VIEW FROM THE S.W.

To the REV.d EDW.d BANKES, B.C.L. one of the Prebendaries of Gloucester Cathedral &c. this plate is inscribed by the AUTHOR

London, Published Dec.r 1.1828. by Longman & C.o Paternoster Row.

Printed by Hayward

Drawn by W H Bartlett

Engraved by H Le Keux

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

VIEW FROM THE N.E.

To the REV^D JOHN MICHELL L.L.D one of the prebendaries of Gloucester Cathedral this plate is inscribed by the AUTHOR

London Published Dec^r 20 1838 by Longman & C^o Paternoster Row

Printed by Hayward

windows, with two in the clerestory, are represented in PLATE v., which also displays the magnificent tower, the flying and incorporated abutments by which it is strengthened, the exterior design and styles of the south transept, and part of the east end, in the distance. This transept, like part of the Priory already referred to, exhibits a mixture of the later circular, and first pointed styles: the buttresses, interlaced, and semi-circular arches, with zigzag mouldings being so many examples of the former, whilst the pinnacles, windows, and parapets display different and later ages of workmanship. By referring to PLATE XVIII. the reader will readily understand the whole design, and combined members of the west end, south porch, lower range of aile, and upper tier of clerestory buttresses, the projection and extent of the south transept, and the highly adorned bell-tower.

A splendid and highly interesting view of the exterior of the Church is obtained from a garden belonging to one of the prebendal houses, on the north side of the edifice. The various parts there grouped together, and displayed to the admiring eye, are shewn in PLATE VI. Here the tower rises pyramidically from an irregular, but highly adorned series of steps, forming a graduated base. The lowest member, or portion, is the east end of the chapter-house with its large window; next, the end of the monastic library, now the college school-room; then one of the semi-octagonal chapels, at the north-east angle of the choir; to the right of, and beyond which, is the northern transept: to the left, and coming before the tower, is the choir, the eastern end and spacious window of which are profusely ornamented. The Lady Chapel, with one of its lateral chantries, forms the other termination.

The north-western part of the Church is only to be viewed from the central area of the cloister, which is used as a kitchen garden, to the Deanery[7].

Internally the Cathedral presents a great variety of features and details of antiquarian interest, of architectural beauty and merit, and of sculptural excellence. These will be noticed in alluding to the accompanying Prints,

[7] When the peculiar beauty and unique character of the Gloucester cloister are taken into consideration, I cannot help regretting that its court should be thus appropriated. By the soil and vegetable substances being placed against the walls, their stability is much injured, the floor is rendered damp, and other injurious effects are produced. A gardener pays less regard to old stones, however exquisitely sculptured, than to roots, fruits, and flowers.

and in referring to the parts of the edifice they profess to represent. The NAVE, as already noticed, exhibits some singularities in design. Its columns, sixteen in number, are large cylinders, very tall, and of equal diameter from base to the capital, whilst its arches are small, semicircular, and ornamented with the billet and projecting zigzag ornaments. PLATES VII. and VIII. shew the architecture, both geometrically and perspectively. Separating the nave from the choir is a stone *organ-screen*, delineated in PLATE VII., and already noticed as having been executed from the designs, and under the direction, of the Rev. Dr. Griffith. The opposite end of the nave, with the large window of the western front, is displayed in PLATE III. The ends of the ailes, sections of the vaulted roofs, designs of the windows, one compartment of the cloister, and a section of the southern porch, are also delineated on this Plate. In PLATES IX. and XVI. D, the architectural character of the *southern transept* is displayed, by which it is seen that the side walls are covered with several ribs, or mullions, extending from the base to the springing of the vaulted roof. Some of these constitute the divisions in the windows of the clerestory, also a sort of screen before the triforium gallery. The approach to this gallery is by a staircase in the south-east angle of the transept, through a gallery in the wall under the great window (shewn in the section). The two door-ways, represented in PLATE IX., are of very uncommon design, if not peculiar to this Church. I have never seen one of the same form and ornament in any other building. Through one of these is the approach to the aile of the choir, to the presbytery, &c. and through the other is the descent to the crypt.

The *north transept* is represented in PLATES XII. and XIX., the former being a view looking north-east, shewing a closet, or inclosing screen of singular design, and of doubtful application: one of the chantry chapels, branching out of the transept, with its rich altar-screen, and an open gallery, beneath the great north window, which forms a passage of communication from the stairs to the triforium of the choir. Much conjecture has been exercised respecting the original purpose of the small apartment at the northern extremity of this transept; the architectural style and decoration of which are delineated in the print now referred to. Judging by the column, arch, and ornaments, we may safely refer it to the very commence-

W.H.Bartlett del. J.Le Keux Sc.

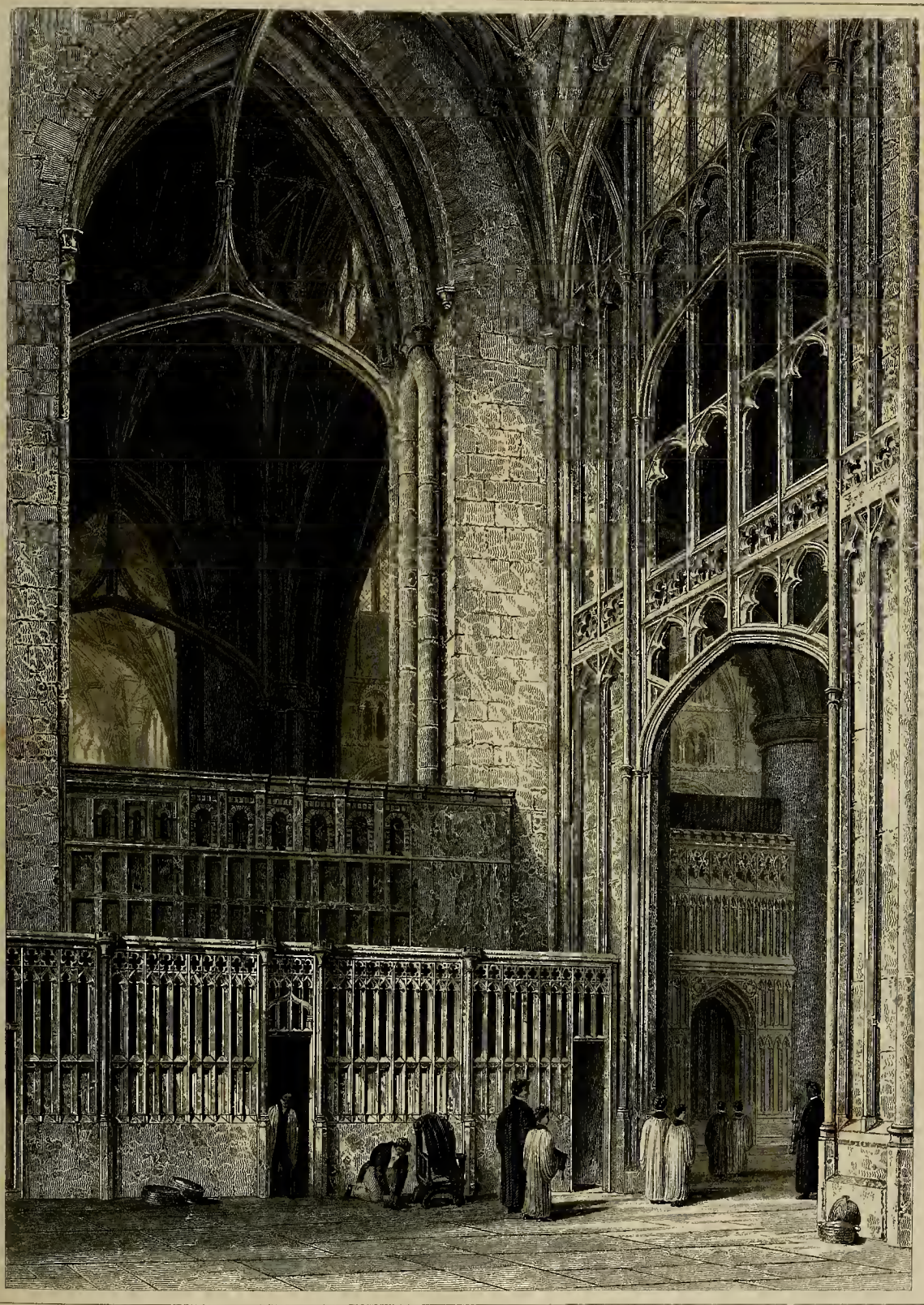
GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

LOOKING EAST INTO THE S. AILE OF CHOIR, &c.

To the Honorable & very Revd EDWARD RICE, D.D. Dean of Gloucester &c. this plate is inscribed by THE AUTHOR.

Printed by Hayward

London, Published April 1828, by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row.



Drawn by H. Ansted.

Engraved by J. Le Keux.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

VIEW IN THE NORTH TRANSEPT LOOKING SOUTH WEST.

TO HENRY ELLIS ESQ^R^ F.R.S....F.S.A. Principal Librarian of the British Museum, &c. &c. &c.
in testimony of many years friendship, this Print is inscribed by J. BRITTON.

Printed by Hayward.

London, Published April 1, 1829, by Longman & C^o^ Paternoster Row.

Drawn by H. Ansted. 1827. Engraved by J. Le Keux.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

VIEW OF THE CHOIR LOOKING EAST.

To the Rt Revd CHRISTOPHER BETHELL, D D. *LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER, &c &c &c.* this plate is inscribed by the AUTHOR

London Published July 1, 1828. by Longman, & Co Paternoster Row.

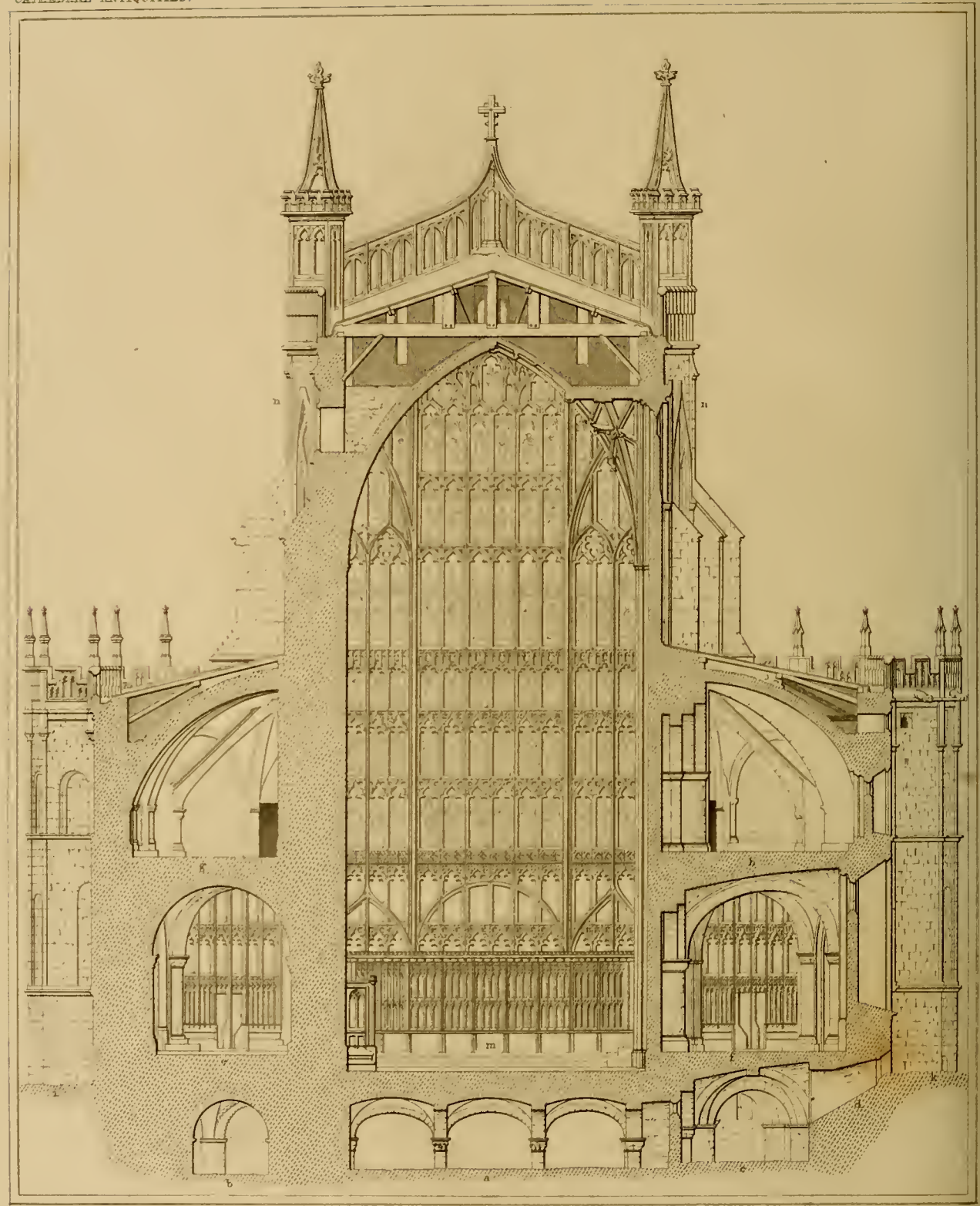
Printed by Hayward

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

COMPARTMENTS S. SIDE OF CHOIR.

Printed by Barnett & Son

London. Published March 1 1818. by Longman & Co Paternoster Row.



Measured & Drawn by H.Ansted. 1827. Engraved by J.Le Keux

Scale of 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 Feet

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

TRANSVERSE SECTION OF CHOIR, AILES, CRYPT, &c. LOOKING EAST.

Printed by Barnett & Son.

London, Published July 1, 1828, by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row.

ment of the thirteenth century, about the time when Henry III. was crowned with great pomp in the Abbey Church; and Helias the sacrist commenced building a tower in 1222: upon one of those occasions, and for some peculiar purpose this closet was probably erected. It has been called a reliquary, a treasury, and a confessional. Though it is difficult to give it an unobjectionable name, we may safely say it was neither a chantry nor a sacristy. PLATE XIX. represents a portion of this northern transept, also a flank of the organ-screen, a screen inclosing the choristers' vestry, the back of a gallery in the choir, and the enriched tracery vaulting under the great tower. The detached or flying buttress ribs, here represented, are singular specimens of construction and of ornament. Perhaps they are unique. Up to the point of their springing the piers seem to be of Norman construction, as indicated by the double cylindrical mouldings; but the archivolt, and tracery above, are all portions of the new tower. In the centre of the vaulting is a circular aperture, called the *Star-hole*[8].

The *Choir* is represented in PLATES X. XI. and XVII. the first delineating the general arrangement and style of the whole, with its east window, stalls, pulpit, throne, seats, &c.; whilst the second shews three compartments on the north side, near the east end, with three monuments under the arches, the style of windows, tracery before the walls, of the vaulted roof, &c. The forms of the original Norman arches, both to the ailes and to the triforium,

[8] This has much difference of opinion respecting the diameter of this aperture, and that of the great bell: it being generally asserted that the latter is greater than the former, and consequently could never have passed through this hole. Mr. Fosbrooke asserts that the great bell must have been raised before the vaulting was finished, as "the hole is smaller than the great bell." (History, p. 258-9). The Rev. Mr. Bishop and Mr. Brayley examined and measured the two in the autumn of 1827, with so much care and accuracy that we may now speak with certainty on the subject. The hole above the door-ledge is five feet nine inches from north to south, and five feet ten inches from east to west, whilst the extreme diameter of the great bell is five feet eight inches and a half. The height of the bell is four feet nine inches, and its weight about three tons and a quarter. It is suspended in a room measuring thirty-two feet eleven inches by thirty-three feet two inches, whilst the belfry above, containing a peal of eight bells, measures thirty-six feet two inches by thirty-five feet seven inches. The space between the walls, on the leads, measures forty feet, by forty feet three inches. Mr. Dallaway says, "the inscription on the great bell has been strangely mistaken: it is—'ME FECIT FIERI MONCHATUS NOMINE PETRI—the Monastery caused me to be made.'" Others read it MUNCUTUS.

are still preserved, but faced with new mouldings; and the whole surface of the walls and columns has been cased with corresponding works. The monuments shewn in PLATE XI. are for William Malvern, or Parker, A; Edward II., B; and Osric, C. The choir is fitted up with thirty-one stalls of tabernacle work, carved in oak, with a pulpit, bishop's throne, and seats for the minor canons, chantry boys, and for other persons who attend the Cathedral service. Beneath the seats are various specimens of grotesque carving: one represents two knights playing at dice, another a knight running at a tilt, a third a forester killing a stag, and a fourth a knight cutting off the head of a giant. On the south side of the altar are four subsellia, or stalls for the officiating priests. The presbytery is raised above the choir by four steps at the eastern end of the stalls, and the floor of the altar is raised three steps, higher. A new altar-screen has been erected from the designs of Mr. Smirke, in the place of an older work, which Mr. Fosbrooke states was painted in fresco. That altar-piece was taken to the old church at Cheltenham. Mr. Carter says that an antient and very fine altar-screen was inclosed and obscured by the other, and that it most probably was adorned by the very curious *old painting*, which is now deposited in the triforium of the choir. As a specimen of the execution and design of monastic artists this picture is interesting, and should be guarded against further injury. The Account by the Society of Antiquaries recognises it as "a large and sumptuous picture, in a high state of preservation, and painted in the style of the fifteenth century." Mr. Counsel of Gloucester, in a letter to Mr. Fosbrooke, states that it was executed "by an Italian in England, from a label being in the Italian language. It is painted on a golden or yellow ground; is in two separate parts, or folding doors, joined in the middle (about ten feet by seven). That part of the picture which represents the new Jerusalem has Grecian columns, supporting circular arches, and surmounted with perforated battlements. Some of the angels are represented singing from a score, and others are playing from different instruments, particularly viols and lutes." This picture, like many of the designs in the Dutch, Flemish, and French missals of the beginning of the sixteenth century, represents the day of judgment, where the spirits of the blessed

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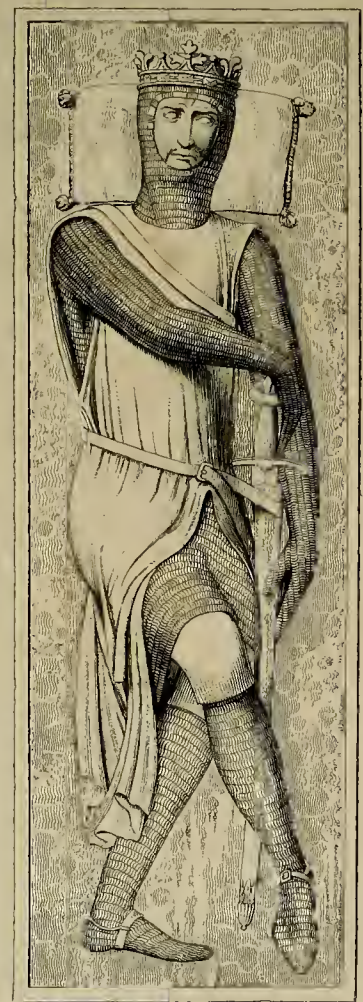

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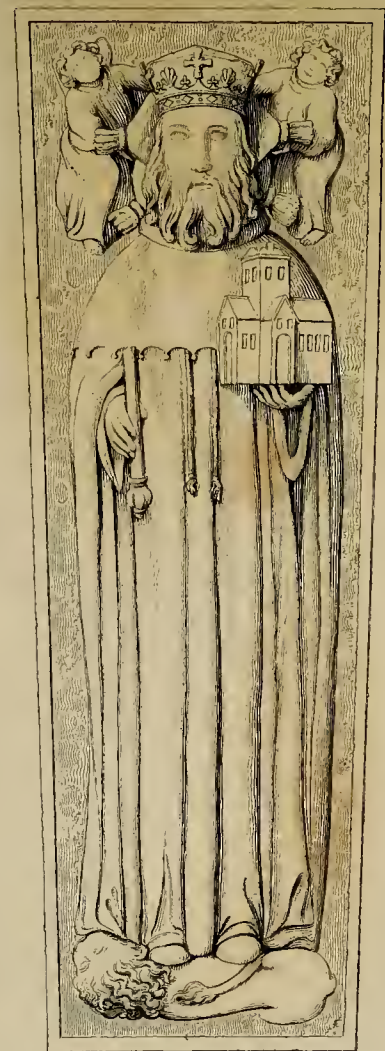

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Drawn & Engraved by G.F Storm from Sketches by the late J. Carter.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

SEPULCHRAL EFFIGIES OF

1. KING OSRIC (supposed) – 2. KING EDW.II: – 3. ROBERT CURTOISE, DUKE OF NORMANDY. (supposed)

London. Published Nov.1.1828. by Longman & Co Paternoster Row.

Printed by Barnett & Son.

and of the cursed are doomed to enter their final abodes of eternal bliss or misery. The Deity presides, St. Peter is placed with his keys, and groups of angels are painted to indicate the heavens, whilst monstrous forms, with a beastly mouth, flames, &c. are intended to typify hell.

A narrow passage, behind and below the glazing of the fine eastern window, and forming a corridor between the northern and southern triforium, is called *the whispering gallery*. It is about seventy-five feet long, three wide, and eight feet high, and has the property of transmitting sound along its walls in a powerful and apparently mysterious manner. "The lowest whisper of the mouth, if placed close to the wall, the slightest scratch with a pin on the stone, is distinctly heard from one end of the gallery to the other." This place, like the whispering gallery of St. Paul's, the echo on Westminster Bridge, and many similar phenomena in antient works of art and situations of nature, does not require supernatural powers to explain: nor were there any magical arts used in their original formation or contrivance. All may be accounted for on the principles of acoustics.

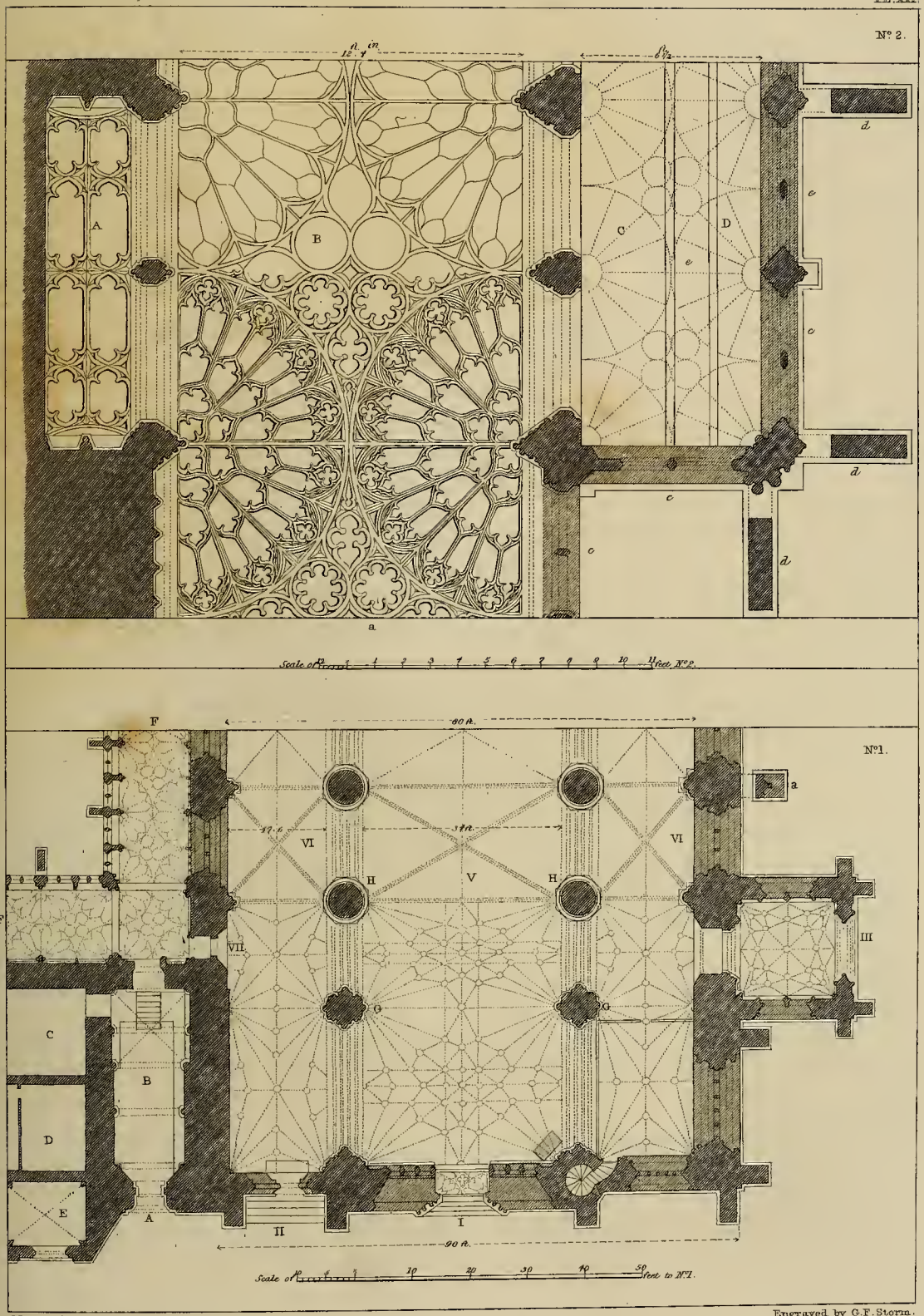
Of the large, and once splendid *East Window*, the full design is made out and illustrated in PLATE XVII., which also shews Mr. Smirke's screen, the transverse section of the crypt with its ailes, the triforium and its vaulted roof, the arched vaulting over the choir, the open parapet to the eastern gable, with the turrets at the angles.

The *Lady Chapel*, at the eastern extremity of the building, must have been originally an elegant apartment, but its glories and beauties are faded, though its form, extent, and style of decoration may be understood. "In style it very nearly resembles the choir, both in its beauties and defects. Extreme ingenuity is displayed in the union of the chapel with the church. The light of the great east window is scarcely at all obscured by the building, though so close to it; and the line of junction, which is one of its transverse mullions, is almost imperceptible from within the choir." A view of the east end, with one compartment on the south side, having a large and lofty window, and stone seats beneath, is given in PLATE XX.

Some idea of the style and decoration of the *Cloister* may be formed by examining PLATE XIV., which exhibits the northern walk, as seen at the

western end. Its embowed and fan-tracery roof cannot fail of exciting the admiration of every spectator. On the right-hand side of this view is a recess for the lavatory, where the stone trough still remains; and on the opposite side is another recess in the wall, with groined and ornamented ceiling, for the towels. (Vide the plan, PLATE I., and a plan of part of the cloister, more at large, PLATE XXI.) According to the statement by the Society of Antiquaries, this cloister "is acknowledged to be the most elegant and perfect in England. The proportions are extremely beautiful, and the ornaments superb. In the south walk are the remains of antient *carols;* which were small recesses, to which the religious retired to study, each having a small opening to admit light."

Branching from the eastern walk of the cloister is the *Chapter-room,* or *house,* of which I regret that we have no correct representation. Though I was desirous, and directed the artists I employed at Gloucester, to make a view of the interior, and of the entrance door-way, I could not prevail on them to provide me a satisfactory representation of either. This is named merely to vindicate the author from reproach on this head. The entrance door-way has a semicircular arch, adorned with bold zigzags, and three small columns on each side. As shewn in the Ground Plan, the room is of a parallelogramatical shape, is very lofty, and its inner ceiling is arched. On each side is a stone seat, above which is a series of small columns attached to the wall, supporting archivolt mouldings. The eastern end is ornamented with tracery mouldings both on the wall and in the roof; there are also some niches with canopies, and a large window. As far back as 1648 this fine room was converted into *a library* by some of the parliamentary officers, when part of the cloister was fitted up as a stable. In 1656 the library was settled on the Mayor and Burgesses. In 1826 and 1827 the Dean and Chapter very properly had it again fitted up with care and skill, for the preservation of their present library; and it is gratifying to know that it is placed in the custody of one so well qualified to guard its stability and pristine beauty, as the present very amiable and estimable librarian.



Measured & Drawn by H. Ansted, 1827. Engraved by G.F. Storm.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

N°1. Ground Plan of the West end, with Porch, part of Cloister, &c.
N° 2. D°___of part of the Cloister, Lavatory, &c. on the North side.

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Chap. IV.

AN ACCOUNT OF SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS AND INTERMENTS OF EMINENT PERSONS, WITHIN THE WALLS OF THE CHURCH.

The preceding pages contain notices of the interment of several royal and distinguished personages within the consecrated precincts of Gloucester Cathedral. It will be expedient in this place to point out more precisely their places of sepulture, and to give some account of the tombs, and effigies, raised to the respective memories of them, and to such other persons as may be entitled to historical record, or who, from station or from worthy deeds, deserve the praise or gratitude of posterity. An attempt to appropriate antient monuments to their legitimate owners is a task of no small difficulty; for there are few tombs, of a remote date, which remain in their pristine stations, or that are unmutilated or unaltered. The present Cathedral, like nearly all others in this country, has undergone various changes at different times: and on those occasions we may fairly conclude that every innovator on, or improver of, the old works (and we find that every new generation has been a reformer of the preceding), would either transfer or destroy such monuments as interfered with the intended symmetrical arrangement of the new architecture. This fact is exemplified in reference to the Choir of the present Church, as the monument of Curtoise, or Curthose, was removed from that place: and the effigies ascribed to Osric, the founder, and to Aldred, have also undergone changes of situation. Other removals we may conclude have been made, for it is recorded, that several Abbots were interred within the more sacred enclosure of this part of the edifice.

In adverting to, or describing these sepulchral memorials, it will be in accordance with the system adopted in this volume, to notice them rather in chronological order, than from position or classes of subjects; and the

relative situations of the more antient tombs will be pointed out by figures on the engraved Ground Plan.

Oldest, in reference to person, though not in execution, is the monument commemorative of Osric, the Viceroy of Ethelred, seventh King of Mercia, who, according to the inscription given in a preceding page (4), founded this Abbey[1]. Placed on the north side of the high altar (5, in Ground Plan), is an altar tomb, supporting an effigy, and covered by an ornamental canopy, or tester. The figure (shewn in Plate xxii. fig. 1), is sculptured in stone, and intended to represent a king, by the crown on its head, a sceptre in the right hand, and a model of a church in the left: the latter of which was meant to indicate his claim to the honour of being the founder. Although Osric's monument has been inadvertently referred to the eighth century, we may more safely ascribe its execution to the time when the choir was newly made. Mr. Rudge says, that "the effigy is certainly of older date than the tomb on which it is laid, and the obtuse arch, together with the arms of Parker and the Abbey, joined to those of the Northumbrians, plainly refer the cenotaph to the reign of Henry VIII. This was agreeable to the practice of other Abbeys, where monuments of this kind were raised to the honour of their Saxon founders, in the later ages of the monasteries, as an expression of gratitude[2]."

[1] It is no easy task to reconcile and explain the contradictory and discordant statements of chroniclers and modern writers, respecting the events and personages of so remote a time as that of Osric's reign. In the Abbey Chronicle he is styled the Viceroy of Mercia, under King Ethelred (see antea, p. 3); and in the Preface to "Simon of Durham," in the "Decem Scriptores," he is called the son of Aldfrid, King of Northumberland. It appears from William of Malmesbury, "De Gestis Regum Anglorum," printed in the "Scriptores post Bedem," ed. 1601, p. 27, that Kyneburga, who is said to have been the first Abbess, was the sister of the two Mercian kings, Wulphere and Ethelred, and that she married Aldfrid. This connection probably occasioned the influence which Osric appears to have had in the Mercian kingdom, and shows that, although he was nearly related to Kyneburga, he could not have been her brother: had this been the case, the antient historians would certainly have noticed it, but they have no allusion to such connection: and we find by the Saxon Chronicle (Ingram, p. 65), that Osric, King of Northumbria (to which throne he succeeded in 718), died in the year 729, the very date assigned by the Abbey Chronicle.

[2] History of Gloucester, &c. p. 166. Following the Abbey Chronicle, it has been inadvertently stated (p. 4), that *Kyneburga*, the first Abbess, was buried near her brother Osric,

The Saxon Chronicle (Ingram, p. 135), states, that the body of Elfrida, or Ethelfleda, daughter of Alfred, and Queen of the Mercians, was interred in the *east porch* of St. Peter's Church, at Gloucester; and William of Malmesbury, repeats the statement, but seems to confound this Monastery with that of St. Oswald, in the same town. He says, that Ethelfleda was "a woman with an enlarged soul,—the delight of her brother's subjects, and the dread of his enemies." In conjunction with her husband, Ethelred, "she had erected the Monastery of St. Peter with great solicitude[3]." It is more likely that this alludes to St. Oswald's Priory; to which the canonized relics of Oswald were conveyed by Ethelred, and his queen. (See note antea, p. 6.) It is not easy to know what is meant by the *east porch:* for such an appendage to that end of a Church is very uncommon, if not wholly unknown.

Abbot Wulstan, as stated by Furney, was buried under a yew tree in the area of the cloister: but as he died on a pilgrimage, in a distant land, and in disgrace, it is not probable that they should have brought his remains to this place for sepulture.

According to Leland[4] the following persons were interred in the chapter-house, where inscriptions were remaining for them in his time. Roger, Earl of Hereford; Richard Strongbow, son of Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke; Walter de Lacy (who was accidentally killed in 1085, by a fall from the battlements of St. Peter's Church, at Hereford, which he had just finished, and stated by Dugdale to have been "buried in the Chapter-house at Gloucester, in the time of Abbot Serlo;") Philip de Foye, Knight; Bernard de Newmarch (De Novo-mercatu); Pain de Chaworth (Paganus de Cadurcis); and Adam de Chaworth. Most of these noblemen were distinguished characters in their respective times: Roger, Earl of Hereford, Bernard de Newmarch, and Walter de Lacy, were contemporary with the Conqueror; Richard Strongbow died in the twelfth century; Pain and Adam de Chaworth, (whose ancestors had been liberal benefactors to the

who died nineteen years after his sister. On a further investigation we find that she was first interred at Castor, near Peterborough, and afterwards removed to the Monastery of the latter town. See Saxon Chron. (Ingram, p. 157). The place of Osric's sepulture is doubtful.

[3] Hist. of the Kings of Eng. (Sharpe), p. 142.

[4] Itinerary, iv. 77.

Abbey,) in the thirteenth century. Of Philip de Foye nothing appears in history, but he probably received his name from *Foy,* a place on the banks of the Wye, near Ross, in which neighbourhood the Abbey had possessions. Mr. Rudge conjectures that the grave-stones are concealed under the wooden floor of the chapter-house; and this opinion is confirmed by the discovery of a piece of stone, bearing the letters . . . . *e Cadurcis,* on removing a part of the floor in the year 1827[5].

A singular shelf, or *bracket monument,* sustaining an effigy, generally ascribed to *Aldred,* Archbishop of York, who died in 1069 (see antea, p. 6), is attached to the stone screen on the south side of the choir; (8, in Ground Plan). According to Leland, Serlo, who died in 1104, was "buried under a fair marble tomb, on the south side of the presbytery[6];" as Aldred was not interred at Gloucester, and the situation of the monument corresponds with Leland's description, it may therefore be fairly attributed to Abbot Serlo. The monument is shewn in the title-page to this volume, and is strangely described by Mr. Gough, as "a beautiful and singular *altar* tomb, arching forward, on pillars[7]." The figure resembles that of Osric, and is habited in a long robe, or tunic, holding in one hand part of a pastoral staff, and in the other, the model of a church, probably in allusion to Serlo's having refounded the Church.

[5] Mr. Dallaway, in "The Heraldic Inquiries," has given an etching of the following arms, on glazed tiles, in the Chapter-house; and says they are, "1st. Lozenge:—In the centre, 1. Ermine, a cinquefoil sable, Seabrooke: 2. Henry VII.: 3. England: 4. Abbey of Gloucester: 5. Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. 3rd. Lozenge:—Talbot quartering Furnivall, impaling Beauchamp, quartering De Newburg: for John Talbot the second Earl of Shrewsbury, and Margaret, daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. The square tiles contain the arms of Abbots. 1. A leopard's head, jessant de lys: Abbot Braunch: 2. Beauchamp impaling Hastings, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury: 3. Three covered cups, Abbot Boulars, or Boteler: 4. Tracy: 5. Brydges: 6. A chevron between three cross-crosslets fitchè, Abbot Farleigh. The Abbey had a manufactory of these tiles, which were prepared for the kiln by the more ingenious Monks: and specimens of them are to be seen in several Churches, dependent on this house.

[6] Itin. iv. 77. The same author mentions the finding of a bull's hide, containing a body, supposed to have been that of the *Countess of Pembroke,* wife of Richard Strongbow. It lay at the head of Edward the Second's tomb, under an arch, where Malvern, alias Parker, made a chantry chapel to be buried in. Ibid. viii. 33.

[7] Sepulch. Mon. vol. i. part i. p. xc.

An altar tomb (4, in the Ground Plan), sustains an effigy of Robert Curthose, eldest son of William the Conqueror, and Duke of Normandy, who died the 10th of February, 1134, and was originally interred before the high altar. (See antea, p. 10). Although the effigy is supposed, by Leland, to have been executed long after the death of that prince[8], yet Mr. Gough is of opinion that it is one of the most genuine of the twelfth century[9]: and the supposition is strengthened by the singularity of its execution and the material of which it is made. It is "carved to the life in heart of oak," as Sandford states, and the tomb which supports it is also of wood, "in the form of a chest." The figure is now covered by a wire grating (which was added by Sir Humphry Tracy, of Stanway), who, when the Parliamentary soldiers, under Cromwell, agreeably to the overheated and extravagant zeal of the times, tore it to pieces, bought the fragments, and, after the Restoration, caused them to be repieced, and placed in their present situation[10]. The head of the figure is represented with a coronet of pearls, fleurs de lis, and strawberry leaves, ranged alternately; the body, covered by a hauberk and gorget of chain mail, over which is thrown an embroidered surcoat, having depicted on the breast three lions passant gardant (probably painted at the Restoration). The right hand crosses the body, and rests upon the hilt of a sword. The legs are crossed, (Robert having been a leader in the first Crusade, in 1096), and the chausses in which they are encased scarcely reach the knees: it is not improbable that the prince obtained the appellation of Curt-hose (short hose), from this part of his habit.

In 1168 the body of a *Christian boy*, said to have been martyred by the Jews, was buried with great ceremony before the altar of St. Edmund, on the north side of the Church. (See antea, p. 11[11]).

[8] Itin. iv. 172. [9] Sepul. Mon. vol. i. part i. p. xcviii. [10] Geneal. Hist. by Stebbing, p. 15.

[11] The reception of this body for interment appears to have been one of those frequent schemes among religious bodies, in former days, to enrich themselves by the influence of pretended miracles at the tomb of the deceased. The boy is said to have been concealed from March until the 16th of the kalends of April, when the Jews destroyed him by the most cruel tortures. The body was afterwards thrown into the Severn, and there discovered by some fishermen.—The obloquy of the murder thus thrown on the Jews, who were alike odious to the ecclesiastics and

Abbot Gamages was buried in 1307, at the door of the cloister, near his brother, Sir Nicholas Gamages. (See antea, p. 19, note).

On the north side of the choir, between two of the ponderous Norman columns, is the enshrined tomb of Edward the Second. (6, in Ground Plan). Considering the weakness of his reign, and the lamentable fate of the monarch, we view this elegant monument with mingled surprise and admiration: the former arising from the consideration of seeing any sepulchral trophy raised to a deposed and murdered king, and the latter in finding a work of so much beauty and merit. "When it is considered," says Carter, "how many irreligious and anti-royal hours, fraught with barbarity and savage despotism, have passed since the erection of this noble tomb, astonishment is excited, that in our day it still exists so little havocked, and so venerated[12]." A dupe to favourites—a slave to his own caprices—subservient to a wanton wife, and her infamous paramour, Mortimer, Edward II. fell a sacrifice to cruelty and intrigue, in the forty-third year of his age. After being deposed, and kept prisoner at Kenilworth, Corfe, Bristol, and Berkeley Castles, and suffering under many privations and indignities, he was destined to encounter the climax of human misery in the latter fortress. Whilst in the custody of Lord Maltravers and Thomas Gournay, they caused him to sit on a mole hill, and to have his head shaved with water from a ditch; they lodged him in a room over carrion, and administered poison to him. Surviving all these outrages, Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, wrote a letter to his keepers, concluding with this line—"Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est." This jesuitical sentence had two meanings: if a point was placed between *nolite* and *timere*, it forbids; but if after *timere*, it enjoins, or directs. His keepers knew the intended construction, and, proceeding to the king's bed-room, smothered him with bolsters, and then forced a red-hot iron up his fundament. Instead of obtaining rewards, as expected, his murderers fled the country; Gournay

the laity, was probably undeserved; for the Chronicler adds, that "no *Christian* was present to witness his tortures, nor was any thing ever disclosed by *any Jew*."

[12] "Some Account of the Cathedral," p. 12.

was taken and beheaded at sea, and his accomplice lived a miserable life in Germany[13]. The Abbot of Gloucester prudently and sagaciously obtained the body, and had it interred in his Church, as already stated, p. 20.

The annexed engraving, PLATE XX., exhibits the general design of the whole monument, whilst the effigy of the deceased is shown in PLATE XXII. fig. 2: and we are satisfactorily assured, that Edward the Third caused this memorial to be raised over his imbecile and unfortunate parent. Resting on the floor is an altar tomb, sustaining the recumbent alabaster effigy of the King, which is finely executed; and from the character of the face, beard, hair, and robes, we may regard it as a faithful portraiture. Around the tomb are canopied niches, with pedestals, but deprived of statues: and surmounting the whole is a splendid canopy, or tester, consisting of a series of trefoil-headed arches, with crockets, finials, and cusps; also pinnacles, buttresses, and housings for other statues. As originally finished, this monument must have presented a splendid display of art: in which the united beauties of sculpture, architectural members, and armorial insignia were employed to captivate the eye and fill the imagination. It has been taken charge of by the heads and fellows of Oriel College, Oxford, which the Monarch had founded, and has been restored or repaired by them in 1737, 1789, and 1798. What it had suffered in previous ages, either by neglect or wanton injury; and in what manner it had been repaired, or renovated, we are not told, and it would be vain to conjecture. On the capitals of the adjoining columns, which some writers erroneously call "Tuscan," are painted a white hart, collared and chained—the cognizance of Richard II. From this device a vulgar and silly notion prevails, that the corpse of the Monarch was drawn by stags from Berkeley Castle to Gloucester.

ABBOT STAUNTON, who died in 1351, was buried before the altar of St. Thomas, which had been raised by his brother, John de Staunton.

In the south aile of the nave is a monument, (10, in Ground Plan), sustaining two effigies, ascribed to HUMPHREY DE BOHUN, Earl of Hereford,

[13] See Sandford's Genealog. Hist. of the Kings of Engl. by Stebbing, p. 152. For many interesting particulars respecting the captivity and murder of this monarch, see "Smyth's Lives of the Berkeleys," p. 17. 21. Hume ascribes the murder to Mortimer.

and his Lady, but we have no account of any earl of that name having been buried at this place; and although Mr. Gough, who fixes the date of his death in 1367, conjectures that the monument was conveyed to this Church, at the dissolution, from the neighbouring Monastery of Lanthony, where many of the Bohuns were interred[14]: yet it does not appear that any earl of this family was buried there after the year 1275. The two last *Humphries* died in 1360 and in 1371-2, and were both buried in the Monastery of Saffron Walden[15]. The male effigy is represented in plate armour, mail gorget, collar of S S, an under helmet, or *chapelle de fer*, very pointed, and shoes of mail; his head rests upon a helmet, partially covered by a mantle, his hands raised on his breast, and at his feet a lion. The female figure has flowing hair, bound in front by a fillet; down her breast falls a band like a striped riband, and her body is covered by a long mantle, lifted up at the feet by a collared dog.

Abbot Horton was buried in the north transept.

Abbot Boyfield was interred near his predecessor.

Abbot Froucester was buried in a chapel at the south west end of the choir, where a gravestone is said to cover his place of sepulture.

Attached to the east wall of the south transept is a very singular piece of sculpture, which may be regarded as unique in design, and if intended for the sepulchral memorial of a master mason and his son, as traditionally related, it is peculiarly apposite and emblematical. Projecting at right angles from the wall is a highly ornamented bracket, with an embattled coping round the rim, tracery ribs, and trefoil pannels: two small figures of an aged and of a young man, disposed as brackets, or corbels, support the whole work. The former figure is said to designate the master mason, named Gower, who completed the choir of the Church, and the younger one, his son, or apprentice: the first has tools in his apron, and the second is shown with extended arms, whilst both are clothed, we may presume, in the costume of the time. The bracket forms a sort of mason's square[16].

[14] Sep. Mon. vol. i. part ii. p. 195. [15] Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 186.

[16] See Plate ix. for a view of this bracket, and also Carter's "Antient Sculpture and Painting," for a spirited representation of it; annexed to which are some trivial remarks by Mr. Gough, who strangely ascribes the south transept to Abbot Seabrooke, who died in 1457.

On the south side of the organ-screen, between the nave and choir is a *Chantry Chapel*, erected by Abbot Seabrooke, in which is a monument to his memory. It is adorned with singular tracery and pannels, and supports an alabaster effigy, with angels at the head, and a lion at the feet. (See II. in Ground Plan).

On the north side of the choir, (7 in Ground Plan), is an enriched altar tomb, within a screen, erected by Abbot Parker during his life-time, but in which his body was never interred. His effigy is executed in alabaster, with the abbatial mitre and a pastoral staff.

In a small chapel, on the south side of the Lady Chapel, is a stone monument, and a board, on which is depicted the figure of a man kneeling, in the habit of a lawyer, with an inscription to Thomas Fitz-William, Esq. who died November 26, 1579.

Against the wall of the south transept is a monument, with the kneeling figures of a man, in a law habit, a female and four children, commemorating Richard Pates, Esq. Recorder of Gloucester, who died in 1588[17].

In a chantry on the north side of the Lady Chapel is a monument of freestone (1 in Ground Plan) to commemorate Bishop Goldsborough, who died in 1604.

On the wall of the north aile is a monument, with the effigies of a man in a scarlet gown, kneeling at a desk, and his wife opposite, also their seven sons and six daughters, underneath. It was raised to the memory of Thomas Machen, thrice Mayor of Gloucester, who died in 1614; and of Christian his wife, who died in the following year.

In the north transept is a monument to John and Ann Bower, with their nine sons and seven daughters, the males on one side, and the females on the opposite side of a desk; upon which is a covering, painted scarlet, with gold lace. She died in 1613, and he in 1615.

Attached to the wall, at the western end of the nave, is a mural monu-

[17] Pates was one of the Commissioners appointed by Henry VIII. and Edward VI. to survey the religious houses in Gloucester, Bristol, &c. He was a considerable benefactor to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, in the former city; and founded the Grammar School at Cheltenham, subject to the control of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

ment, containing the bust of a man, with a book in his hand, and an inscription, to the memory of JOHN JONES, Alderman, thrice Mayor of this city, Member of Parliament at the time of the Gunpowder Plot, and Registrar to eight several Bishops of this diocess, who died in 1630. This appears to have been erected during his life-time; and it is said, that after having given some directions for altering the colour of the face, he inquired if they had *done*, and being answered in the affirmative, replied, "So have I, too." He died on the second day ensuing.

Against the wall of the south transept is a marble altar monument (9 in Ground Plan), supporting the effigies of ALDERMAN BLACKLEACH, who died in 1639, and his wife, sculptured in alabaster, in a kind of Vandyck dress. The figures, according to Walpole (Anecdotes of Painting), "even in that tasteless attitude, are easy and graceful, and the draperies have a peculiar freedom."

In a chantry, on the south side of the Lady Chapel, is a monument for BISHOP NICHOLSON, (2 in Ground Plan), who died February 5, 1671.

A full length marble statue, in judicial robes, standing on a pedestal under an alcove, (3 in Ground Plan), erected by John Snell, Esq. to the memory of his uncle, JUDGE POWELL, who in 1685 represented this city, his native place, in Parliament. He was successively a Justice of the Courts of Common Pleas and of the King's Bench, and was one of the Judges who tried the seven Bishops, and joined in the declaration against the King's dispensing power. For this, James II. deprived him of his office, July 2, 1688; but William III. created him, first, a Baron of the Exchequer, then a Judge in the Common Pleas, and on June 18, 1702, advanced him to the King's Bench, where he sat until his death, June 14, 1713[18].

In the north aile of the nave is a mural monument, to the Rev. BENJAMIN KING, D. D., Prebendary of this Cathedral, who for forty years filled the

[18] Of this judge the following anecdote is related, showing in a striking manner his exemption from the superstitions of the age in which he lived. An old woman was tried before him for witchcraft: her adversaries swore she could fly. Prisoner, said the judge, can you fly? Yes, my lord. Well then you may, there is no law against flying. He thus saved her life, for he would not convict her, even upon confession. Noble's Contin. of Granger's Biog. Hist. of Eng. vol. i. p. 168.

office of Registrar and Vice-Treasurer. He died November 26, 1756, and was buried in the chancel of the church of St. Mary de Lode, Gloucester.

Against the east wall of the south transept is a marble monument bearing a well executed medallion of Bishop Benson, who died August 30, 1752. Another monument to the same prelate is placed at the west end of the nave. This worthy divine was not only zealous in the discharge of his episcopal duties, but generously expended much of his income in the repairs and adornment of his palace and the Cathedral. He raised an altar-piece in the Lady Chapel, which was removed in the year 1819; and also an organ-screen, from the design of Kent, in 1741, which was taken down in 1820, to give place to the present more appropriate design.

On the west side of the south door of the nave is an inscription, on a marble tablet, to the Rev. Anthony Ellis, D. D., who for thirty-seven years occupied a prebendal stall in this Church, to which he was admitted in 1724. He was consecrated Bishop of St. David's, 28th of February, 1753. He died January 17, 1761, and was buried in this Church.

Against a pillar, on the north side of the nave, is a monument of marble, on which is sculptured a winged cherub, leaning on a medallion profile of Mary, wife of Sir William Strachan, of Tewkesbury Park, who died October 23, 1770.

A marble tablet, on the most western pillar in the north side of the nave, bears an inscription to Bishop Warburton, who died June 7, 1779. Warburton was certainly a man of great talents, but of intolerant, arbitrary, and dogmatic principles. He was perpetually embroiled in quarrels and controversy, ill becoming the principles and profession of a protestant prelate. His character is ably developed in D'Israelli's "Quarrels of Authors," in which Warburton is not only the first of the series, but is shewn to be the most noted of the irascible race of the literati.

A monument, also in the north aile, commemorates Ralph Bigland, Esq., who was appointed Blue Mantle Pursuivant, February 23, 1757; Somerset Herald, January 15, 1759; created Norroy King of Arms, May 27, 1773; Clarenceux King of Arms, September 12, 1774; and Garter Principal King of Arms, March 2, 1780. Died, March 27, 1784.

Against the east wall of the south transept is a marble slab to the memory of Dean Tucker, of whom some notice will be found in the list of Deans in a future page.

Against the wall of the north aile is a monument, by Flaxman, to commemorate Mrs. S. Morley, daughter of James Richardson of Newent, who died at sea, 25th of May, 1784, in her twenty-ninth year, a few days after child-birth. The artist has represented the figure of the mother with an infant in her arms, in the attitude of ascending from the waves of the ocean towards heaven, assisted by an angel.

A memorial for the Rev. James Benson, LL. D., who was many years Chancellor of the Diocess, a Prebendary of the Cathedral, and a liberal benefactor to the fabric, is placed against a pillar near the west end of the south aile. He died December 12, 1785.

Attached to a pillar on the north side of the nave is a tablet, bearing an inscription for the Rev. Charles Bishop, M. A. Rector of Elkestone and Rudford, and one of the Justices of the Peace for the county of Gloucester, who died March 29, 1788.

In the south aile of the nave is a tablet to commemorate Sir John Guise, Bart. of Highnam Court, LL. D., Alderman of Gloucester, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the Militia of that county, who died May 3, 1794.

Another monument commemorates John Webb, Esq. LL. D. one of the members of Parliament for Gloucester in three successive Parliaments. He died February 4, 1795.

A tablet in the purest taste, in a Gothic niche, surmounted by a canopy with crockets and a finial, records the skill and munificence of James Griffith, S. T. P. (see Essay, p. 9), in the erection of the organ-screen and other improvements in the Cathedral. It was put up in May, 1823, and is attached to a buttress on the north side of the organ-screen, and contains an inscription written by Dean Plumtre.

In the south aile of the nave is a fine bust of Sir George Onesiphorus Paul, Bart., who died June 16, 1820, aged seventy-four years. This is executed by R. W. Sievier. Sir George distinguished himself by his active exertions in reforming and improving the construction of prisons, and the

discipline of prisoners. According to the inscription on his tomb, he "reduced to practice the principles which have immortalized the memory of Howard, and banished the use of fetters." He published three works on the subject of prisons, in 1784, in 1808, and in 1813; and also wrote some communications to the Board of Agriculture.

Among the modern monuments of the Church, the first in distinction and merit is a colossal Statue, placed at the west end of the nave, and commemorative of the fame and person of Edward Jenner, M. D. LL. D. F. R. S. &c. &c., who was buried at Berkeley in Gloucestershire. This statue was executed by R. W. Sievier of London, a sculptor, who, like Mr. Chantrey, served his apprenticeship to another profession; but from a predilection for this exalted branch of the fine arts, devoted his ardent mind to it, and has fortunately attained an honourable eminence. The statue, now under notice, is distinguished by that union of simplicity and grandeur which belongs only to works of merit. Graceful in attitude and expression, with truth of portraiture, and clothed in the ample drapery of a Doctor's gown, tastefully disposed, it is calculated to please the common observer, and the refined critic.

The name and celebrity of Dr. Jenner have extended over the globe. Before his time, the human race was subject to a contagious disease—the small-pox, which often proved mortal, but more frequently destructive to the beauty of the fair sex. To eradicate this malady, or guard the human frame against its ravages, was a desideratum; and the world is indebted to Dr. Jenner for the promulgation of an antidote to that disease, by introducing another of a much milder, and consequently safer nature—the cow-pox[19]. He was the active and persevering agent to recommend and

[19] About fifty years ago, when the writer was a boy and living in the north of Wiltshire, he remembers that his mother often said, the milkmaids, who had been affected with the cow-pox, were thereby exempt from the small-pox; but it does not appear that the medical practitioners then thought of inoculating for the one to guard against the other. This important practice was reserved for Dr. Jenner. Previously to his time, and the adoption of the cow-pox, it was satisfactorily proved before a Committee of the House of Commons, "that no less than forty-five thousand die annually of the small-pox, in the united kingdoms alone;" and therefore what must

promote its almost universal adoption. That such an innovation on a long established system, should meet with obstinate opposition is not surprising; but it is surprising and gratifying to know, that in a very few years it triumphed over ignorance, pertinacity, and prejudice. Had Dr. Jenner been actuated by the spirit of selfishness or quackery he would have kept his secret to himself, and thereby made a large fortune; but he divulged his knowledge to the world, challenged inquiry and investigation, and, during his life-time, obtained the more gratifying rewards, due to honesty and liberal science. The British Parliament took up the subject, and after mature deliberation adjudged, in the years 1802 and 1807, to the learned Doctor remunerations, amounting in the whole to 30,000*l.* The University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of M. D.; and many foreign potentates, and learned societies, complimented him by various presents and honorary distinctions. The comparatively small sums thus voted him by Parliament, not only disappointed his friends, but the impartial part of the public: for even the Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted, "that the value of the discovery was without example, and beyond all calculation. It was made out by convincing evidence, that Dr. Jenner had precluded himself from great emoluments by the generosity of his own conduct." It was further stated to the house, that the Doctor had absolutely expended 6000*l.* in prosecuting his inquiries; and Mr. Wilberforce stated, that Dr. Jenner had devoted upwards of twenty years to the subject. Thus it often happens in the great assembly of the nation, as in small committees and corporations, that a niggardly, and even mean prudence, prevails over a liberal and enlightened policy. To such a man, and in reward for such an invaluable discovery, even the 30,000*l.* was indeed a poor and inadequate compensation. After the death of this great benefactor to mankind, the Parliament might have come forward to make some atonement for its former error: but Dr. Jenner was neither a court sycophant, nor a wholesale murderer of

be the amount of its deleterious influence in the vast population of Europe, of the world? It was finely and forcibly put by Admiral Berkeley, in the House of Commons, that "not a *second* is struck by the hand of time, but a victim is sacrificed at the altar of that most horrible of all disorders—the small-pox."

men, and no national trophy has been raised to his memory. To compensate, in some degree, for this neglect, a few of his personal friends and admirers raised a subscription, to pay for a handsome work of art, which might serve to commemorate the eminent philanthropist, gratify their own feelings, and reflect credit on their taste. As this was not placed in the metropolis—the focus of national science, wealth, and talent—it was thought advisable to fix it in the Cathedral of the county, as the most appropriate station, next to London[20]. An interesting volume is published on the life, opinions, and experiments of Dr. Jenner, by his surviving friend, Dr. Baron. It contains such a review of the history and efficacy of the cow-pox, as must tend to place it on the firm basis of philosophy and truth.

Another and far more elaborate monument in that style, which alone can harmonize with buildings like these, executed by the well known taste and talent of Mr. Rickman of Birmingham, is to the memory of the Reverend Richard Raikes, a character of great piety and benevolence, who died September 5, 1823, in the eightieth year of his age.

A marble tablet, on the eastern wall of the southern aile, has been recently erected to the memory of the late amiable Dean Plumtre, who died Nov. 26, 1825, and to that of his Lady.

[20] The following simple inscription was intended for this cenotaph—"Edward Jenner, born at Berkeley in this County, May 17, 1749; died at the same place, January 25, 1823."

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE

Bishops of Gloucester,

WITH THE CONTEMPORARY KINGS OF ENGLAND.

No.	BISHOPS.	Translated or Consecrated.	Died or Translated.	Buried at	Kings.
1	John Wakeman.....	Inst... Sept. 20, 1541	Died .....Dec. 1549	Forthampton	{Henry VIII. {Edw. VI. Mary
2	John Hooper.....	Inst... March 8, 1550	Burnt...Feb. 9, 1554	Gloucester.....	Mary.
3	James Brookes, D.D...	Inst. March 26, 1554	Died...Sept. 7, 1558	Gloucester.....	Mary.
4	Richard Cheiney, B.D..	Inst...April 19, 1561	Died..April 25, 1579	Gloucester.....	Elizabeth.
5	John Bullingham, D.D.	Inst....Sept. 3, 1581	Died..May 20, 1598	Gloucester.....	Elizabeth.
6	Go. Goldsborough, D.D.	Inst....Nov. 12, 1598	Died..May 26, 1604	Gloucester.....	Elizabeth, Jas. I.
7	Thomas Ravis, D.D...	Inst....Dec. 17, 1604	London, May 18, 1607	London.....	James I.
8	Henry Parry, D.D.....	Inst....July 12, 1607	Worcester, Sept. 1610	Worcester.....	James I.
9	Giles Thompson, D.D..	Inst. March 15, 1611	Died..June 14, 1612	Windsor.....	James I.
10	Miles Smith, D.D.....	Inst....July 15, 1612	Died..Oct. 19, 1624	Gloucester.....	James I.
11	Godfrey Goodman, D.D.	Inst....Nov. 26, 1624	{Depr.....1640 {Died, Ja. 19, 1655	{St. Margaret's, {Westminster	{James I. {Charles I. II.
12	Wm. Nicholson, D.D..	Inst....Jan. 13, 1660	Died....Feb. 5, 1671	Gloucester.....	Charles II.
13	John Prichett, D.D....	Inst.... Oct. 10, 1672	Died....Jan. 1, 1680	Harefield.....	Charles II.
14	Robert Frampton, D.D.	Inst.... Jan. 28, 1680	{Depr. Feb. 1, 1690 {D. May 25, 1708	Standish.....	{Ch. II. Jas. II. {Wm. and Mary {Anne.
15	Edward Fowler, D.D..	Inst....June 8, 1691	Died August 26, 1714	Hendon.....	{Wm. and Mary {Anne, Geo. I.
16	Richard Willis, D.D...	Inst....January, 1714	{Salisbury...1721 {Winchester, 1725 {D. Aug. 10, 1734	Winchester.....	George I. II.
17	Joseph Wilcocks, D.D.	Inst....Nov. 25, 1721	{Rochester..1731 {Died Mar. 9, 1756	Westminster.....	Geo. I. II. III.
18	Elias Sydall, D D.....	Trans...Nov. 4, 1731	Died..Dec. 24, 1733	....	George III.
19	Martin Benson, D.D..	Inst...Jan. 19, 1733-4	Died..Aug. 30, 1752	Gloucester.....	George III.
20	William Johnson, D.D.	Inst....Oct. 24, 1752	{Worcester Nov. 9, {1759. Died 1774	Laycock.....	George III.
21	Wm. Warburton, D.D.	Inst....Dec. 22, 1759	Died....June 7, 1779	Gloucester.....	George III.
22	James York, LL.D.....	Trans...July 6, 1779	{Ely...July 1781 {D. Aug. 26, 1808	Forthampton	George III.
23	Samuel Hallifax, D.D..	Inst....Oct. 8, 1781	{St. Asaph..1789 {Died Mar. 4, 1790	Worksop.....	George III.
24	Richard Beadon, D.D..	Inst....May 30, 1781	Bath and Wells, 1802	Wells.....	George III.
25	G. I. Huntingford, D.D.	Inst....June 1802	Hereford, Jun. 23, 1815	Living.....	George III.
26	Henry Ryder, D.D....	Inst....July 8, 1815	Lichf. and Cov. 1824	Living.....	George III.
27	Christoph. Bethell, D.D.	Inst..... 1824	....	Living.....	George IV.

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE

Deans of Gloucester.

WITH BIOGRAPHICAL MEMORANDA.

No.	DEANS.	Elected, &c.	Died or removed.
1	William Jennings[1], B. D. . .	Appointed..Sept 3, 1541	Died..... Nov. 4, 1565
2	John Man[2], A. M.	Installed...Feb. 2, 1565	Died.....March 18, 1568
3	Thomas Cowper, D. D.	Installed... July 5, 1569	Bishop of Lincoln..... 1570 Bishop of Winchester.....1584
4	Lawrence Humphrey[3], D. D.	Installed March 13, 1570	Dean of Winchester 1580
5	Anthony Rudd[4], D. D.	Installed...Jan. 10, 1584	Bishop of St. David's.....1594
6	Griffith Lewis, D. D.	Installed.....1594	Died.....June, 1607
7	Thomas Morton[5], D. D.....	Presented June 22, 1607	Dean of Winchester.....1609
8	Richard Field[6], D. D.....	Installed.....1609	Died.....Nov. 21, 1616
9	William Laud[7], D. D.....	Installed..Dec. 20, 1616	Bishop of St. David's.....1621
10	Richard Senhouse[8], D. D...	Installed..Dec. 13, 1621	Bishop of Carlisle 1624
11	Thomas Winniffe[9], D. D. ..	Installed..Nov. 10, 1624	Dean of St. Paul's.....1631

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMORANDA RESPECTING THE DEANS.

[1] The King's Chaplain, and last Prior of St. Oswald's. Buried in the Cathedral.

[2] Keeper of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, in Gloucester, Warden of Merton College, Oxford, and Prebendary of Lincoln; buried at St. Anne's, Aldersgate, London.

[3] Born at Newport Pagnell, county of Bucks, about 1527; received his education at Cambridge, and afterwards became Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, where he took the degree of A. M. in 1552, about which time he was made Greek reader of his College, and entered into orders. In June, 1555, he went to Zurich, where he joined the English Reformers, but returning to England, after the death of Queen Mary, was restored to his fellowship. In 1560 he was made the Queen's Professor of Divinity, and elected President of his College; in 1562 took both the divinity degrees. He died in 1590, leaving a wife and ten children. Wood's Athen. Oxon. edit. 1815, i. 558.

[4] A native of Yorkshire, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Rector of Strathern, county of Leicester; died March, 1614. Richardson—De Præsulibus, p. 586.

[5] Born at York in 1564, where he was educated; in 1582 entered St. John's College, Cambridge, and was elected Fellow ten years afterwards. His subsequent preferments were the Rectory of Long Marston, county of York, a Prebendary of York Cathedral, the Rectory of Aylesford, county of Kent, the See of Chester in 1615, that of Lichfield and Coventry in 1618, from whence he was translated to Durham in 1632. Being expelled by the Oliverians, after several removals, he took up his abode with Sir Henry Yelverton, at Easton Mauduit, county of Northton, where he died, September 22, 1669. Surtees' History of Durham, vol. i. p. xcii.

[6] Had been Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth and King James, Canon of Windsor, and soon after his promotion to this Deanery was made one of the new Fellows of Chelsea College. He was buried at Windsor. Pole's History of Windsor, p. 385.

[7] Vide the author's History of Wells Cathedral, p. 71.

[8] Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to Prince Charles; killed by a fall from his horse, May 6, 1626, and buried in his own Cathedral (Carlisle). Richardson—De Præsulibus, p. 772.

[9] A student of Exeter College, Oxford, Prince's and King's Chaplain; promoted from the Deanery of St. Paul's to the Bishoprick of Lincoln in 1641, deprived in the rebellion, and died in 1654. Ibid, p. 303.

No.	DEANS.	Elected, &c.	Died or removed.
12	George Warburton[10], A. M.	Installed..June 11, 1631	Dean of Wells....August, 1631
13	Accepted Frewen[11], D.D...	Installed..Sept. 13, 1631	Bishop of Lichfield, ..Aug. 1644
14	William Brough[12], D. D....	Installed..Nov. 20, 1644	Died.....July 5, 1671
15	Thomas Vyner[13], D. D.....	Installed...July 23, 1671	Died.....April 11, 1673
16	Robert Frampton[14], A.M...	Installed....May 6, 1673	Bishop of Gloucester.....1680
17	Thomas Marshall[15], D. D...	Installed..April 30, 1681	Died .....April 18, 1685
18	William Jane[16], D. D.....	Installed... June 6, 1685	Died ..... February, 1706
19	Knightly Chetwood[17], D. D.	Installed...April 6, 1707	Died .....March, 1719
20	John Waugh[18], D. D	Installed...Aug. 5, 1720	Bishop of Carlisle....Aug. 1723
21	John Frankland, D. D.....	Installed....Oct. 3, 1723	Dean of Ely 1729
22	Peter Alix, D. D.....	Installed.....1729	Deau of Ely 1730
23	Daniel Newcombe, D. D...	Installed.....1730	Died .....March 2, 1758
24	Josiah Tucker[19], D. D.....	Installed.. July 15, 1758	Died.....Nov. 4, 1799

[10] Vide the Author's History of Wells Cathedral, p. 123.

[11] Vide the Author's History of Lichfield Cathedral, p. 59.

[12] Buried at Windsor, of which place he was a Canon. Rudge's History of Gloucester, p. 255.

[13] Likewise a Canon of Windsor; buried in this Cathedral, where an inscription for him still remains. Ibid.

[14] Vide ante, p. 39.

[15] Born at Barkby, county of Leicester; became Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1668, and Rector of that society in 1672; also Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty, and Rector of Bladon, near Woodstock, which he resigned three years before his death, which took place at Lincoln College, Oxford. He was buried in All Saints Church in that city, where his epitaph still remains. Wood's Athen. Oxon. edit. 1815, iv. 170.

[16] Born at Liskeard, in Cornwall; elected student of Christ's Church from Westminster school, in 1660, where, having taken the degrees in arts, he afterwards became Chaplain to Dr. Compton, Bishop of Oxford, and was made Canon of Christ's Church in 1678. In the year following he proceeded in his faculty as a compounder, and on the 19th of May, 1680, was admitted Regius Professor of Divinity. About the latter end of April, 1685, nominated by King James II. Dean of Gloucester, and on the 21st of November, 1689, elected Prolocutor for the lower house of the Convocation of the Clergy, in order to make some alterations in the liturgy to please the dissenters. Buried at Christ's Church, Oxford. Wood's Athen. Oxon. edit. 1815, vi. 648.

[17] Born at Coventry, in 1652, educated at Eton, became Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, in 1683. He was Chaplain to Lord Dartmouth, the Princess of Denmark, and King James II., Prebendary of Wells, Rector of Great and Little Risington, county of Gloucester, and Archdeacon of York. He was nominated to the See of Bristol by James II. but was prevented from enjoying it by the abdication of that monarch. In 1689 he was Chaplain to the English forces in Holland, under the Earl of Marlborough; commenced D. D. in 1691, and afterwards preferred to this Deanery, which he enjoyed until his decease, at Templeford, county of Bedford, where he was buried. Among his writings was the "Life of Lycurgus," in the translation of Plutarch's Lives, and "The Life of Wentworth, Earl of Roscommon," preserved among Baker's MSS. Collections in the public library at Cambridge. He was particularly intimate with Dryden, for whom he wrote the Life of Virgil, and the Preface to the Pastorals, generally ascribed to Dryden himself. Chalmers' Biog. Dic. ix. 246, from Nichols's Poems, i. and iii. Atterbury's Correspondence, i. p. 18. 430. Malone's Dryden, iv. 547.

[18] Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, Rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill, London, and Prebendary of Lincoln. Richardson—De Præsulibus, p. 774.

[19] A learned divine, but more celebrated as a polemical writer, was born at Laugharn, Carmarthenshire, in 1712; educated at Ruthin school in Denbighshire, wherein he obtained an exhibition for St. John's College, Oxford. At the age of twenty-three he entered holy orders, and in 1737 became curate of St. Stephen's in Bristol, and Minor Canon of the Cathedral. Here he attracted the notice of Dr. Joseph Butler, then Bishop of Bristol, and afterwards of Durham, who appointed him his chaplain, and shortly afterwards obtained for him a prebendal stall in Bristol Cathedral. When the bill was brought into the House of Commons for the naturalization of the Jews, Mr. Tucker strongly advocated the measure, by which he gave such great offence, that he was attacked by pamphlets from all quarters, and was burnt in effigy by the people of Bristol, together with his writings. In 1755 he published an able pamphlet on the "Turkey Trade." About this time, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Tucker, Lord Clare, afterwards Earl Nugent, was returned to parliament for Bristol, in reward for which service he procured for him the Deanery of Gloucester, when he took his degree of D. D. So great was his reputation for commercial knowledge, that Dr. Thomas Hayter, then

No.	DEANS.	Elected, &c.	Died or removed.
25	John Luxmore[20], D. D.....	Installed...Jan. 16, 1800	Bishop of Bristol.....1807 Bishop of Hereford.....1808 Bishop of St. Asaph.....1815
26	John Plumtre[21], D. D.....	Installed.....1808	Died.....Nov. 26, 1825
27	Edward Rice, D. D.	Installed...Jan. 20, 1826	Living.

tutor to his Majesty, applied to him to draw up a dissertation on the subject for the perusal of his royal pupil; this was accordingly done, under the title of the " Elements of Commerce," which was printed, in quarto, but never published. Bishop Warburton, speaking of Dean Tucker, says " his trade was religion, and religion his trade." This certainly was unjust; for although commerce and its connections had been favourite objects of his attention, yet he faithfully discharged the duties of his office, and his various publications on moral and religious subjects show him to have been deeply versed in theology. Gents. Mag. Nov. 1799, vol. lxix. part 1.

[20] Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and Prebendary of Canterbury, which latter he resigned upon his promotion to this Deanery.

[21] Educated at Eton, became Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, in 1775; in 1778 vicar of Stone, and in 1790 Vicar of Wichenford, both in Worcestershire; in 1787, Prebendary of Worcester; and in 1808 was made Dean of this Cathedral.

A

List of Books, Essays, and Prints,

WHICH HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED RELATING TO

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

ALSO A LIST OF

ENGRAVED PORTRAITS OF ITS BISHOPS.

THIS LIST IS SUBJOINED TO GRATIFY THE BIBLIOGRAPHER, THE CRITICAL ANTIQUARY, AND THE ILLUSTRATOR; AS WELL AS TO SHEW, AT ONE VIEW, THE SOURCES WHENCE THE CONTENTS OF THE PRECEDING PAGES HAVE BEEN DERIVED, AND THE FULL TITLES OF THE WORKS REFERRED TO IN THE NOTES.

MANUSCRIPTS, BOOKS, AND ESSAYS.

FROM the numerous notes of reference in the preceding pages it may be inferred that the published accounts of this Cathedral are already numerous, and that a new volume on the subject is a work of supererogation. Those who will give themselves the trouble of examining and compariag these different publications will soon detect omissions and doubtful statemcnts, occasional chasms and irrelevant matter. Respecting the architectural history of the fabric, some are silent, and others very imperfect. On this subject the author of the present volume has endeavoured to furnish the reader with full and explicit information. Although he has not been fortunate enough to define the date and history of every part of the building, he must ascribe this defect to the want of succcss, rather than to the want of diligence in his inquiries.

Of the *manuscript materials* from which much of the history of St. Peter's Monastery has beea obtaiaed it will be proper to give some account. In page 25, and in the Essay page 5, are notices of *Abbot Froucester*, with some account of his works. His collections, rclating to the Abbey, must have bcen both extensive and valuable. From thcse he coapiled a "*Chronicle*," detailing the most material events rclating to the house and its dependencies. They extend from the time of the foundation to that of his decease, in 1412. That part of the chronicle which records his death and gives his eulogium is of course continued by another hand.

A copy of this Chronicle is in the library of Quecn's College, Oxford, and another in the British Museum. Two books of charters and other muniments, transcribed by Froucester, are in the possession of the Dean and Chapter. *Archdcacon Furney* made use of these materials, in what Mr. Fosbrooke calls "*a Catalogue Raisonné*[1];" but if this learned gentleman had scen the whole of the Archdeacon's collections, he would have awarded to him rather more merit than that of a catalogue writer. On these authorities the preceding narrative places its chief claims to authenticity respecting the monastic part of its history. Furney, a native of Gloucester, bequeathed in 1755 to the Bodleian library, his collections relating to the Abbey, &c.; and Browne Willis acknowledges his obligations to him in preparing his "Survey of Cathedrals."

Dr. Richard Parsons, chancellor of this diocess from 1677 to 1711, collected materials for "Memoirs of the antient Abbey and present Cathedral of Gloucester." Wharton intended to print this as a third volume of his "*Anglia Sacra*." Bishop Nicholson, in "Historical Library," says, that Parsons's work "was digested into so good a method, that it well deserved the title of a complete history." Dr. Parsons died in 1711. The destiny of his collections is unknown to the writer of this notice, though Atkyns and Rudder both appear to have made use of them.

Kennett's "*Parochial Antiquities*," 4to. 1695, p. 75, states that the New Conventual Church, rebuilt by Serlo, the abbot, was dedicated, July 7, 1100. Anno 13 Will. Rufus. 1 Hen. I.—p. 194, a Controversy between Henry, Abbot of St. Peter's, and the Prior of St. Oswald's, was by Pope Honorius referred to the Abbot and Prior of Thame, by whom peace was made

[1] "Original History of the City of Gloucester," preface, v.

between them, "Ex Chartul. S. Petri Gloces. MS."—p. 223, Agreement between the Abbot and Convent, and the Abbot and Convent of Oseney, as to the tithes of Chesterton.

"*The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire*," by Sir Robert Atkyns, Knight, folio, London 1712, reprinted 1768, contains a short notice of the Bishoprick—the Charter of Foundation—the Endowment—Account of the Bishops—List of the Chancellors and Archdeacons—Statutes and Orders for the better Rule and Government of the Cathedral Church, appointed and prescribed, anno 36 Hen. VIII.—a List of the Deans and Prebendaries, with a Description of the Monuments and Dimensions of the Cathedral, p. 68 to 96—it also contains a North View of the Cathedral, by J. Kip. Most of the copies of the first edition of this book were consumed by fire at Mr. Bowyer's, the printer, in 1712-13. The second edition printed by Mr. Herbert, was most carelessly executed, the errata not being even corrected. Great part of this edition was also burnt.

In Le Neve's "*Monumenta Anglicana*," 5 vols. 8vo. 1719, are copies of the Inscriptions on the Monuments from 1600 to 1718.

The History of the Foundation of the Abbey, and the Changes in the same before the Suppression by Hen. VIII., by William Malverne, Abbot, from MS. in Cai. Coll. Camb., also Harl. MS. 539, f. 111., is contained in "*Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle*," 2 vols. 8vo., 1724.

Wilkin's "*Concilia Magnæ Brittaniæ*," folio, 1737, contains the following documents—v. I. p. 368, Synod of Gloucester—p. 404, Synod for the Election of a Bishop, anno 1122. V. IV. p. 17, Mandate for the Visitation of this Diocess, anno 1547, ex. Reg. Well.—p. 145, Injunctions by James, Bishop of Gloucester, throughout his Diocess, anno 1556, Ex. Append. ad. Histor. Rob. de Avesbury, edit. Thomas Hearnii, p. 376[2]—p. 344, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter to the Bishop of Gloucester for an Account of his Clergy, anno 1592, Ex. Reg. Whitgift, fol. 199. b.—p. 518, Orders by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Dean and Chapter and others of the Cathedral Church, anno MDCXXXV. Reg. Laud. fol. 236—p. 541, Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, suspended from his office, anno 1640, Ex. Origin. et Nalson's Collect. v. I. p. 351, et seq.

Browne Willis's "*Survey of the Cathedrals*," 4to. 1742, contains an Account of the Foundation, Monuments and Inscriptions, Sale of the Lands of the Bishoprick, 1648-9, Endowment of the Chapter, with Notices of the Bishops, Deans, Precentors, Chancellors, Treasurers, and other ecclesiastical officers, also an account of all the Churches and Chapels in the Diocess, &c. v. i. p. 691 to 755. PLATES, a Ground Plan, drawn by Walt. Merricke, cler. and a South Prospect, both engraved by J. Harris. Willis acknowledges his obligations to Archdeacons Furney and Eyre, and to Precentor Gregory, who looked over the matter both before and after printing.

The new Edition of Dugdale's "*Monasticon Anglicanum*," v. i. p. 531 to 565 contains, the Origin of the Abbey, with a List of the Abbots from its foundation to the dissolution; A List of the subordinate Cells and country Residences of the Abbots; List of Books given to the Monastery by Richard de Stowe, in the 14th cent. Harl. MSS. no. 627, fol. 8; the Foundation of the Bishoprick with names of places given for its Endowment; short Accounts of the Bishops, as also a Description of the Cathedral.—It likewise contains the following documents—No. I. "*Annales de Winchcumbe in Bibl. Cottoniana*," as to the Foundation of this Monastery, anno 680. "R. Hoved, fol. 255. a. n. 10." The Dedication of the Church by Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, anno 1058.—Nos. II. to VIII. inclusive, "*Ex Cronicis Gloucestrensis Cœnobii*," in Bibl. Cottoniana sub effigie Domitiani, A. viii. being an account of the foundation of the Monastery, gifts of lands thereto, &c. from the year 681 to 1089.—No. IX. "*Ex libro Censuali vocato* DOMESDAY BOOK," being an account of the possessions of the Church of St. Peter in the time of William the Conqueror, in Hampshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Herefordshire.—No. X. *MS. Cotton. Domit.* A. viii. fol. 128. Surrender of divers Manors to the Church of St. Peter, by Thomas, Archbishop of York, anno 1095.—No. XI. Ibid. the Dedication of the Church of St. Peter in the time of Abbot Serlo, anno 1100.—No. XIII. Ibid. fo. 144, List of the Possessions of the Monastery of St. Peter, as well spiritual as temporal.—No. XIV. *Ex Ipso Autogr. in Bibl. Cottoniana*, xvii. 3. The Charter of King Stephen, confirming and reciting the gifts made to the Church of St. Peter.—No. XV. *Cart. Antiq. Harl. Brit. Mus.* 58, H. 40. Grant of a Fair at Northleeche to the Abbot and Monks of St. Peter.—No. XVI. *Pat.* 17 *Edw. III. m.* 35. MSS. Lansd. 291, fol. 273.—No. XVII. *MS. Cotton. Domit.* A. viii.

[2] In one of Furney's MS. vols. is a set of Instructions from Cardinal Pole (a circular) sent to Gloucester, among other places. In a Note, Furney says that he communicated it to Hearne, who published it.

fol. 141. Order of Thomas Horton, Abbot of Gloucester, concerning the performance of Mass. —No. XVIII. *Pat.* 33 *Hen. VIII.* p. 2. m. 10. Rym. Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 724. Creation of the Bishoprick, A. D. 1541.—No. XIX. *Pat.* 33 *Hen. VIII. Iterum MS. Cotton.* Appeud. ix. fol. 28, constituting John Wakeman, Bishop.—No. XX. *Claus.* 6. *Edw. VI. p.* 3, *n.* 27. A. D. 1552. *Rym. Fœd. tom.* XV. *p.* 297. Surrender of the Bishoprick to the King.—No. XXI. *Claus.* 6 *Edw. VI. p.* 6, *n.* 15. Rym. Fœd. tom. XV. p. 298. Confirmation of the preceding surrender by the Dean and Chapter.—No XXII. *Pat.* 6 *Edw. VI. p.* 1, *m.* 34, A. D. 1552. Rym. Fœd. tom. 1, p. 298. Concerning the translatiou of the Bishop of Gloucester to the Bishoprick of Worcester.—No. XXIII. *Ex Codicibus MSS. penes dcc. Eccl. Cath. Glouc. excerptum.* A compendious memorial of the Cathedral Church of Gloucester.—No. XXIV. *MS. Cotton. Cleop.* E. V. fol. 380. Order for the burning of John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, A. D. 1555—Ministers' Accounts of the Monastery of St. Peter, 34 Hen. VIII. Augmentation Office.

"*A New History of Gloucestershire,*" by Mr. Samuel Rudder, a printer of Cirencester, folio 1779, Cirencester, contains the Foundation Charters, and Endowment of Abbies and other religious houses, the Foundation of the Bishoprick, &c., with a short account of the Bishops and Deans; the Names of the Patrons and Incumbents, and the ancient and present Value of all tbe Ecclesiastical Benefices, Monumeutal Inscriptions, &c.

"*The History and Antiquities of Gloucester,*" 8vo. Cirencester, 1781.

"*Collections Monumental, Historical, and Genealogical,* relative to the County of Gloucester, printed from the papers of Ralph Bigland, esq." London, 1791, fol.

"*Views of the Interior and Exterior of Gloucester Cathedral,* Drawn and Engraved by T. Bonnor, in 1796, and reprinted, 1815."—London, 8vo. with thirty-seven pages of letter-press.

Gough's "*Sepulchral Monuments,*" fo. 1796, contaius—v. i. pt. 2, p. 19, Figure of Robert Curthose,—v. i. pt. 1, p. 52, Bodies of three Abbots found in the Cboir—p. 84, Description of the Figure of Robert, Duke of Normandy—p. 125, Figure of an Alderman and his wife—pt. 2, p. 92, Edw. II. Monument—p. 195, Account and View of Monument of Humphrey de Bohun.—v. ii. pt. 1, p. 67, An Account of an Abbot's body found in new paving the Cath.—p. 104, Ethelred and his wife, Elfreda, Founders of St. Oswald's Priory—p. 105, Osric's Monument.—v. ii. pt. 2, p. 182, View and Account of the Monument of Abbot Seabrook.

"*Collection of Gloucestershire Antiquities,*" by Samuel Lysons, 1803, fol. containing, 1. Engravings of Figures on Glass in the Cathedral:—2. East End of the Library:—3. Stone Stalls:—4. View of the Crypt:—and 5. West End of the Lady Chapel, &c.

"*Some Account of the Cathedral Church* of Gloucester, illustrative of the Plans, Elevations, and Sections of that Building." Lond. 1809. folio, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. This account was drawn up by Sir Henry C. Englefield, Bart. The Engravings, by J. Basire, from Drawings by J. Carter, consist of, 1. Ground Plan of the Church, Cloister, and Monastic Buildings:—2. Plan of the Crypt:—3. Plan of the Triforium Story of the Choir, Transept, and Lady Chapel:—4. Elevation of the West Front, Tower, and Deanery:—5. Elevation of the North Side of the Church:—6. Section, through the whole from East to West, with the Crypt, Lady Chapel, Tower, &c.:—7. Section of the East End, with the Crypt:—8. Elevation of part of the building North of the West End of the Church:—9. Elevation of the South Porch;—10. Elevation of one division of the South Aile of the Nave and Buttress at large, exterior;—11. Elevation of a compartment of the Nave, interior:—12. Elevation of part of tbe North Side of the Choir, showing portions of four Monuments:—13. Elevation of a compartment on the North Side of the Lady Chapel:—14. Elevation of the "Monk's Treasury," in the North Transept:—15. Elevation of the North Side of the Monument of Edward II.:—16. Plans and Sections of the same:—17. Elevation of a Doorway, &c. in the South Transept.

"*The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church and See of Gloucester,* with Engravings, by J. and H. Storer, 8vo. contains a short account of the Monastery and Bishoprick, and the following eight prints—Ground Plan—N. E. View—N. Transept, from the Cloisters—W. Front—Door in Nave—Osric's Tomb—Bishop's Palace—South Porch—Interior of Navc.

"*The History of Gloucester from the earliest Period to the present Time,*" by the Rev. Thos. Rudge, B. D. Gloucester, 8vo. 1811, contains Extracts from ancient Chroniclers and Historians relative to the History of the Abbey—a List and Biographical Memoranda of the Abbots, Bishops, Deans, and other Ecclesiastical Officers, with Historical Notices of the Endowment, Revenues, and Extent of the Diocess—a Description of the Cathedral and its Monuments.

"*An Original History of the City of Gloucester,*" including the Original Papers of tbe late

Ralph Bigland, esq., by the Rev. J. D. Fosbrooke, M.A. F.A.S., 4to. London, 1819, contains Accounts of the Abbey, Extracts from the Lives of the Abbots, List of Monuments and Epitaphs, Priors, Bishops, Abbathial Residences, Episcopal Officers, &c. pages 156 to 280—also the following twenty-five PLATES by Bonnor, &c., most of which were published in his "Itinerary." —Osric's Monument—Seabrooke's ditto—Parker's ditto—S. W. View of the Cathedral by Buckler—Parts of the Cathedral by Audinet—Interior of Lady Chapel—Specimens of Armorial Pavement—Monuments of Edward II.—Robert Curthose—Bishop Goldesborough—Lord and Lady Bohun—Alderman Blackleach and his Lady—Aldred—Mr. Williams—Mrs. Clent—Alderman Jones—Sir John Powell, Knight—Ralph Bigland—Bishop Benson—Alderman Machen and his Lady—Dame Mary Strachan.

In Dallaway's "*Inquiries into the Origin, &c. of Heraldry in England,*" 4to. 1793, is an Etching of an Armorial Pavement in the Cathedral.

In Dallaway's "*Observations on English Architecture,*" 8vo. 1806, is an Essay on Gloucester Cathedral, which is called "a complete school of Antient Architecture."

King, in "*Munimenta Antiqua,*" folio, 1799, v. iv. has some Remarks on the Architecture and Dates of this Church, with five prints: but they are of little value, the latter being singularly inaccurate, and the former very theoretical.

In "*Views of the Cathedral Churches,*" 4to. 1822, by J. C. Buckler, is a S. W. View of Gloucester Cathedral, and a short Account of the Edifice.

"In Birch's "*History of the Royal Society,*" v. i. p. 120, is a Description of the *Whispering Gallery*, with "a Scheme of it," by Mr. Powle.

PRINTS.

Besides the Prints already specified in *different books* the following have been published.

In Carter's "*Antient Architecture,*" fol. 1796, are Etchings of the following subjects—Flying Gallery, Pl. xv. p. 16—Arches, Columns in Undercroft, Pl. xvi. p. 17.—Avenue to the Cemetery, Pl. xxi. p. 20—Doorways, xxxviii. 33—Holy Water Basin, xxxii. 27.

Carter's "*Antient Sculpture,*" fo. 1795—View of a piece of Sculpture at the entrance into the S. Aile of the Choir, v. i. p. 53—Paving Tiles before the High Altar, v. ii. p. 6.

South West View of the Cathedral, drawn and engraved by T. Bonnor.

View of the Cathedral from the S. W.—a large aquatint Print, from a Drawing by J. Buckler.

View of the Screen erected by Bishop Benson, 1741—*J. Vardy*, sc.

Etchiug of the Head of Robert Curthose, *Vertue*, del. *Bretherton*, sc.

ACCOUNTS OF BISHOPS.

Godwin in his "*Catalogue of Bishops,*" small 4to. 1615, gives short Memoirs of the Bishops from 1541 to 1612. In "*De Præsulibus,*" by Richardson, fo. 1742, these Accounts are continued to 1734.

Le Neve's "*Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ,*" folio, 1716, contains List of the Bishops, Deans, Prebendaries, &c. up to 1714.

PORTRAITS OF BISHOPS.

JOHN HOOPER:—mez. *Faber*, sc.—mez. *Houston*, sc.—in sheet of the Seven Bishops, *R. White*, sc. *Granger* and *Bromley*.

EDWARD FOWLER:—mez. *Kneller*, del. *Smith*, sc. *Granger* and *Bromley*.

MARTIN BENSON:—la. fol. *J. Richardson*, del. *Vertue*, sc. 1739. *Bromley*.

JOSEPH WILCOX, sitting holding a book—mez. *E. Scenan*, *J. Simon*, sc. *Bromley*.

WILLIAM WARBURTON:—mez. *C. Phillips*, del. *T. Barford*, sc.—in the act of writing, and Bust of Pope, id.—Medallion, *H. Gravelot*. sc.—in a lay habit prefixed to his "Works," *W. Hoare*, del. *J. Hoare*, sc. 1784,—etching of profile (*Hoare*), 1765, 8vo. *J. Houbraken*, sc. —in Malone's "Shakspeare,' 1787, 8vo. *A. Smith*, sc. *Bromley*.

RICHARD WILLIS, sitting in a carved chair—*M. Dahl*, pinx. *Simon*, sc. *Granger*.

List of Prints

ILLUSTRATIVE OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

Plates.	Subjects.	Drawn by	Engraved by	Inscribed to	Described.
I.	Groand Plan, and Plans of Parts.....	H. Ansted.....	J. Le Keux...	.....	53. 57.
II.	View of the Western Front	W. H. Bartlett	W. Woolnoth	John Baron, M. D. &c.	26. 57.
III.	Section of the West End	H. Ansted.....	J. Le Keux...	.....	57. 60.
IV.	South Porch ; View of.....	W. H. Bartlett	J. Le Keux...	Hon. and Rev. D. Finch	26. 57, 58.
V.	Tower and South Transept; View of.....	W. H. Bartlett	J. Le Keux...	C. Hanbury Tracy.....	27. 57. 59.
VI.	View from the North East	W. H. Bartlett	H. Le Keux..	Rev. J. Michell, LL.D.	59.
VII.	Nave; View of, looking East.....	W. H. Bsrtlett	W. Woolnoth	Rev. J. H. Seymour ...	55. 60.
VIII.	Nave, Compartment of, interior and exterior.....	H. Ansted.....	J. Le Keux...	.....	56. 60.
IX.	South Aile of Choir, &c. View of, lonking East.....	W. H. Bartlett	J. Le Keux...	Hon. and Rev. Ed. Rice, D. D. Dean	60.
X.	Choir, View of, looking East.....	H. Ansted	J. Le Keux...	The Bishop of Gloucester.....	22. 61.
XI.	Choir, Compartments of, North Side.....	H. Ansted.....	J. Le Keax...	.....	61, 62.
XII.	North Transept, looking North East.....	W. H. Bartlett	J. Le Kenx...	Rev. G. W. Hall, D. D.	21. 56. 60.
XIII.	Crypt, View of the	W. H. Bartlett	J. Le Kenx...	J. P. Hicks, Esq.....	49. 52.
XIV.	Cloister, View of the North Walk of.....	W. H. Bartlett	J. Le Kenx...	Rev. H. Wetherell, B. D.....	26.57.59.63.
XV.	Mounment of Edward II.....	H. Ansted.....	J. Le Kenx...	Rev. J. Bishop, M. A...	56. 66. 70.
XVI.	Tower and Transept, half Elevation half Section	H. Ansted	J. Le Keux...	Rev. Townsend Selwyn, M. A...	20. 60.
XVII.	Choir, Ailes, Crypt, transverse Section of, looking East	H. Ansted	J. Le Keax...	.....	61. 63.
XVIII.	View from the South West.....	W. H. Bartlett	R. Sands	Rev. E. Bankes, D.C.L.	58.
XIX.	North Transept, View in, looking South West.....	H. Ansted	J. Le Keux...	Henry Ellis, Esq. F.S.A.	60. 61.
XX.	Lady Chapel, East End, View of.....	H. Ansted	W. Woolnoth	Rev. J. Webb, F. S. A.	28. 57. 63.
XXI.	Plan nf West Front, and Part of Cloister at large	H. Aasted	G. F. Storm..	.....	64.
XXII.	Sepnlchral Effigies of Osric, King Edward II. and Robert Curtoise	J. Carter.....	G. F. Storm..	.....	62.
	Bracket Monnment of Aldred (Wood Cut).....	W. H. Bartlett	T. Williams..	.....	Title-page. 68.
	Crypt, Plan of the (Wood Cut).....	J. Carter.....	Branston and Wright....	.....	50, 51.

AN

ESSAY ON THE ABBEY OF GLOUCESTER,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF CERTAIN

CUSTOMS, PRIVILEGES, AND MANNERS OF THE MONKS OF THAT HOUSE.

THOUGH the early history of this Abbey, like that of many others stretching out beyond the era of the Norman conquest, is involved in some obscurity, enough has been preserved, by the industry of the monks, to assure us of its remote origin, and to ascertain with sufficient precision the period of its foundation, and the succession of its founders, rulers, and benefactors. What degree of credit may be due to the precise form and terms of the charter of foundation, published by Dugdale, from the muniments of the Abbey[1], may rather be conjectured than determined, the original, of which it professes to be a copy, being lost. But it is well known that too many of those that claimed to have been granted by the Saxons were manufactured at a much later date; and there are some grounds for doubting that this may be of the number of such spurious documents. Yet there is no reason to question that the event to which it refers took place at or about the date assigned to it; nor that the institution was patronised by nobles and princes of the land; and underwent, as might be expected, those changes recorded by the compiler of the chronicle, during the confusion that arose in the struggles of the Saxons in their wars with the Danes.

More light breaks in, however, about the time of the settlement of the Normans in England. Gloucester was a place of considerable civil consequence, frequently honoured by the presence of the Conqueror, as it had been of old by princes of the Saxon line. Under these circumstances the ecclesiastical foundation, once famous, but fallen to decay, could not fail to command some share of attention. Accordingly we find it re-established by the best interest and highest power in the country, repaired, reformed, and assuming increased importance.

Thence-forward the Abbey began to flourish, as it passed down the course of time. The abundant evidences of its aggrandisement still extant in its annals and cartulary shew that, while a taste for such endowments prevailed, it continued long to receive fresh accessions of wealth and power. During the reigns of several kings, from William I. to Richard II., it appears that the Convent obtained many important privileges, receiving from those monarchs severally either confirmations or additions to those which had been bestowed by their predecessors. Some of these must have been of great value in seasons of lawless aggression, impost, and outrage. They had *sac, soc,* and *theam,* and *infangenetheof;* they were quit of *carriage, summage* and *conduct, king's tallage,* and all royal works and unjust exactions: whatever they bought, sold, or consumed was exempt from toll, custom, passage, or

[1] Mon. Ang. new edit. vol. i. p. 540.

poutage: wherever they went they might pass unmolested, under pain of forfeiture to the king from any offender, in *wick* and *vill*, in wood and in plain, on land and water, on sea and in port[2]. These, which are the very expressions of many grants, shew how largely and generously their peculiar rights were conveyed to them. King Stephen, during his stormy reign, took them under his protection; and gave safe conduct to Abbat Hameline, and all persons under his jurisdiction, "to go, and come, and remain, and enjoy all that they had without unjust disturbance[3];" and John, when Earl of Mortagne, though at a later period he scrupled not to oppress them, had granted privileges, similar to those which have been just enumerated, in all his lands at Bristol, and at Cardiff and Newport in Wales, enjoining all his bailiffs and officers, French, English, and Welsh, "to forward their business, as though it were his own[4]." Thus, not only were their persons protected, and interests promoted, but the necessaries and luxuries of life were secured to them. Their chases and fisheries were scrupulously guarded. They had free warren in all their estates in Gloucestershire and beyond the Severn; and where their authority obtained, no one, without permission, could pursue any game, or take a fish from their waters; while all the king's foresters, huntsmen, and archers on the Welsh side of the river, and in the forest of Dean, were to surrender the tithe of any venison taken in the forest of that province. By ancient law the *sturgeon* is a royal fish; wherever caught it appertained to the king. Then occasionally, as in these days, such a fish would stray from the expansive estuary of the Severn into the narrower windings of the stream in their vale; and this, if taken in any Abbey fishery, was exclusively their own. The privilege, indeed, was not peculiar to the Abbey of Gloucester; the Bishop of Durham, having wreck of sea within the lordship of his manor of Hoveden[5], laid claim to the whale and the sturgeon, cast upon those northern and tempestuous shores: it may also be imagined that such concession on the part of the king would cost but little; as, in the existing state of the roads and locomotive habits of the princes, the sturgeon could, probably, in few instances be conveyed fresh and sound to the royal table; and there can be no great stretch of liberality, or self-denial, in assigning that to others which we cannot enjoy ourselves. But it was an especial mark of high favour: on the one part it carried with it an air of munificence, and on the other, it conferred dignity in the eyes of the people; and that which, next to the admitted sanctity of their official character, constituted the bulwark of these ecclesiastical bodies was this, that they were "men whom the king delighted to honour."

The twelfth century is celebrated in history for the vast increase of monastic establishments in England, and for the immense wealth accumulated by the church. During the earlier part of it, and under the government of Serlo, De Lacy, Foliot, and Hameline, several priories were attached to the Abbey of Gloucester, which must have greatly advanced its reputation and influence. Ewyas-Harold and Saint Guthlac in 1100, and Kilpec in 1134, all in the county of Hereford, and Saint Guthlac, close to the city; Ewenny, in Glamorganshire, in 1141; Stanley-Saint-Leonard's, in Gloucestershire, in

[2] Cartæ Reg. Angl. in MS. Registro Walteri Froucester asservatæ, vol. i.

[3] Carta Regis Stephani. Ibid, f. 15 b.

[4] Carta Johannis Com. Morton. Ibid. f. 18 a.

[5] Rymer. Fœdera, vol. ii. part ii. p. 1225, new edit.

1146; and Bromfield, in Shropshire, in 1155. Various donations gradually swelled the monastery's rental; houses and shops, gardens and meadows in and about the city, and advowsons, woods, and manors in many parts of the county. Their name and authority had, from early times, extended into Hampshire, Devonshire, &c.; they had a church in Norwich, and some of their estates were in the Marches and in South Wales.

The consequence which this house acquired, especially after its re-establishment by the Conqueror, seems to have been not a little promoted by the existence of a *palace* to the north of the city. Allusion has already been made to it in mentioning the residence of princes at Gloucester. Of this edifice, in ancient writings styled *Aula Regis*, nothing now remains, save a traditionary site, and the name of King's-Holm. Yet it is most certain that kings of England have not merely sojourned here upon travel, but have occasionally selected it for a temporary abode. At such seasons the Abbey Church, being the nearest and the most eminent place of public worship, would be frequented by the court; and hence sovereigns, with their trains of counsellors and knights in arms, have bowed and offered at its shrines. It is expressly recorded that young Henry III. lodged here, when he was brought, with a great retinue, to receive the crown at the high altar of Saint Peter's[6]; for Gloucester was then considered the safest place in the kingdom. Before and after the probable ruin of this palace, from the reign of Henry I. to that of Henry V., the spacious convent was honoured or burdened by the holding of many parliaments. Legates of the popes, archbishops, and high ecclesiastical dignitaries have held synods and provincial councils within these walls;—they have witnessed the coronation and the funeral of a king.

Every tide must have its ebb. The attachment to these institutions, from the beginning of the thirteenth century, but more particularly after the death of Henry III., was gradually on the decline. It was then found that the celebrity of a convent, so far from contributing to its advantage, would, by increasing its expenses, prove a cause of its decay, unless some expedient could be devised to improve the revenue of the house. Both these circumstances are strikingly illustrated in the case before us. Richly as Gloucester Abbey may be supposed to have been endowed, it is a remarkable fact, with regard to the fabric, which had more than once experienced serious injury by fire, that while some new parts were occasionally added, others of no small importance seem to have been suffered to run into a state of dilapidation. During the government of De Gamages the wind blew the dormitory down. Though the notoriety acquired by the reception of the Christian child who was said to have been crucified by the Jews, and the miracles reported to be wrought at his tomb, might, by attracting wealthy visitants, have proved in some degree beneficial to the monks, it should seem that, unless extraordinary means had occurred of improving their finances, the church, like the dormitory, might have been leveled with the ground. Nearly fifty years had been suffered to elapse before they could summon resolution or ability to rebuild the south-western tower, that had fallen down in the life-time of Abbat Hameline; and in the year 1323, when they requested Thomas Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, to permit the appropriation of the parish church of South Cerney, they made a statement nearly in the following terms:—

[6] Robert of Glouc. Chron. by Hearne, vol. ii. p. 513.

" That the Church of the Monastery, built by pious founders of olden time for divine worship in a sumptuous style, had long ago for the most part fallen down through mere antiquity and decay, and the remainder threatened soon to fall; that they had laid out large sums in the repair thereof, and that more must be expended in work newly begun; that the Monastery, situated in a public place and famous town, was subject to a very great burden of hospitality, from the reception of persons resorting thither in very great numbers from divers parts of the world; that the persecution of certain powerful individuals had formerly taken possession of a great share of their substance, originally assigned to the support of the fraternity and for the burdens incumbent upon the Monastery, which had suffered great injury in its means of subsistence." And they conclude by affirming that " in the pursuit of their right in this respect, and in other causes, they had incurred so heavy a debt that, unless their necessities were timely relieved, they had reason to apprehend they should be reduced to distress[7]."

This representation was made during the government of Abbat Thokey, and though couched in the usual style of pleading when appropriations were sought, involved, no doubt, much of the real state of the case. But a remedy surpassing all anticipation was at hand: never was a stroke of judicious policy or generous loyalty more effective than the determination of that Abbat to receive the corpse of Edward the Second. Though that part of the expenses of his interment which fell upon the Convent was very considerable, and it should seem that they could ill afford it, no money could have been laid out to more advantage. Their conduct secured at once the favour of Edward III., who shewed much good feeling and filial duty in endeavouring to uphold the reputation of his unfortunate parent. Upon the ground of their heavy charges and loyal exertions, besides other important concessions, he permitted them to appropriate three churches, of Wyrardesbury, Chipping-Norton, and Cammc, " for the support of an anniversary, and that they should pray for the soul of his father[8]." The same tone of consideration and attachment was kept up by Richard II. who exempted Walter Froucester, the Abbat,

" —for life from appearing in person at any of his parliaments, congregations, and councils, on account of his special love to the Abbey of Gloucester, where the body of King Edward, his great grandfather, was buried, and that his beloved in Christ, Walter, Abbat of that house, might be retained to celebrate exequies, and an anniversary for his soul."

From this very memorable event the building may date not only its restoration, but much of its subsequent magnificence. In the rage for visiting the tomb of Edward II. the ways to Gloucester were crowded by pilgrims, innumerable; and the offerings there presented by the devotees made more than amends for the slackening of other donations. The wealth that was poured in at this channel flowed over, and descended to later times; and it is worthy of observation that, while there is no record of any estates left for that purpose to the use of the master of the works, beyond the end of the fourteenth century, the most costly improvements in this building were afterwards made during the fury of the civil wars between the rival Roses, when England became a theatre of havoc and blood; and monasteries, the sanctuaries of those who fled from assassination or battle, were

[7] Concessio Thom. Episc. Wygorn. MS. Registr. Froucester, vol. i. f. liii. Tanner's Notitia Monast. preface, p. 20, note, Nasmith's edit.

[8] Rymer. Fœdera, vol. ii. pars ii. p. 729, new edition. See also the King's letter to the Pope on the same subject, p. 742.

comparatively little thought of, and too frequently suffered in the general devastation. Of what occurred to this Abbey, at that precise period, there is no regular contemporary account. But to this hour may be seen the effects produced by the tomb of the murdered monarch. It was erected by his son and successor, and as a specimen of art challenges the admiration of the spectator; yet the eye that wanders from the tiled floor, at the high altar, to the intricacies of the roof above, will discern a still more striking memorial of his death and burial. The choir itself, decorated no doubt by the superfluous wealth that the Abbey had thus acquired, while it has dedicated the wonderful and beautiful of architecture to the service of the Most High, presents as noble a *mausoleum* as, perhaps, has ever been erected to the memory of any British king.

Of all the Abbats whose acts and characters are detailed in the Chronicle of the house, no one is more entitled to the grateful respect of the antiquary than WALTER FROUCESTER. By him, or at his instigation and procurement, that Chronicle was composed, which begins with the foundation and closes with his death, in 1412. To him we are indebted for most of the direct historical information concerning the Abbey, its governors, its progress, and possessions. And this, so far as it now goes, is as satisfactory as the nature of the subject would lead us to expect; though we may be assured that in their original state the series of documents which he brought together was much more complete than it is at present. Time has envied him his attempt to inform posterity how rich and well ordered was this society when he departed. He appears to have been a man of an active and munificent disposition, anxious for the dignity and welfare of the community to which he was attached, to enlarge its privileges, and protect what it had already acquired. Many of these monastic superiors were distinguished by their labours to improve the property, and repair, or enlarge, or decorate the building; and these commanded the gratitude of the fraternity; but Abbat Froucester gave most substantial proof that he was variously and eminently qualified to fill the post assigned to him. Besides the somewhat ambitious honours that he obtained for his successors, the payment of the debts of the convent, his attention to their lands and edifices, his valuable completion of the unfinished cloisters, and his compilation of that curious Abbey history before mentioned, he collected all the existing muniments relating to their affairs, and caused them to be arranged and carefully copied into registers, a part of which remain to this day. This was a work of great importance, forming a chain of evidences of which the Chronicle, by its references, appears to have been one of the links. Their earliest documents seem chiefly to have perished by neglect, or time, or waste of war or fire; but the record then made out in these cartularies, the several portions of which contain upwards of one thousand four hundred articles, attests his judgment and well directed zeal for the temporal interests of the Abbey.

These collections, illustrative of public and local events, and furnishing an estimate of the sources from which their ample means were supplied, have evidently been consulted by most of the writers who have professed to treat of this subject, either in the original or in the transcripts of *Archdeacon Furney*, who, early in the last century, with great diligence

extracted or abridged them all. The public charters that they contain have been printed; and most of those relating to the Abbey can have only a limited interest, as designating persons and places, with which the general reader has no desire to be acquainted: yet particulars such as the following may not be altogether unworthy of attention.

1. The proofs respecting their original title to those lands which Aldred had alienated from the Monastery, and attached to the see of York, are laid down with much precision in sundry affirmations made by persons of unquestionable character, called in to bear testimony upon this point. There is considerable solemnity in the style of the ensuing attestation.

" Testimony of David of the Convent of Worcester, &c. To all sons of holy mother church, David, sometime Prior of the Convent of Worcester, health. Placed at the extremity of my days, I declare to you the truth of the matter respecting the claim which the Archbishop of York holdeth against the Church of Saint Peter of Gloucester, that ye may be informed of the same in common, and if it be necessary, as sons of truth, may not deny your testimony to this truth, I myself, should I be permitted to be present when this cause is to be tried, nothing hesitating to grasp the red hot plate of iron, or whatever the equity of justice might demand. This then before God and his saints I testify, that the Church of Saint Peter of Gloucester possessed these vills, to wit, Berton, Leech, Otintone, from the very time of the nuns who aforetime had their dwelling there, and it still holdeth them in possession. But it acquired Standish by donation of Earl Beornulph. And albeit Aldred, the Bishop of our Church, who afterwards was some time Archbishop of York, retained Leech, Standish, and Otynton, by permission of Abbat Wistan his relation, on account of building the aforesaid Monastery, he never retained Berton, neither hath the said Church lost right of plenary donation or investiture in the aforesaid manors; this I have read in charters and in chronicles; this I have known and learned by relation of truth-telling witnesses. This testimony I have confirmed by impression of my seal to those who desire to know the truth. Witnesses of this matter are Robert, the venerable Abbat of Alcester, of good memory and great authority, Warren, Prior of Worcester, and the whole Convent of the said Church. Fare ye well [9]."

2. Their attention to ecclesiastical privilege is shewn in the detail of their controversy with the Priory of Lanthony, soon after its removal and refoundation at Gloucester, by Milo, Earl of Hereford. This latter event occurred in 1136; and the earl dying in 1143, in the castle of Gloucester, of which he was governor, had directed his body to be buried in his neighbouring and favourite foundation of Lanthony. To this the Abbey strongly objected, by contending that they had parochial authority on the spot where that nobleman died; and in asserting the justice of their claim to funerals from the castle, they produced an account of the castellans up to that time, which would probably no where else be found. They represent to Sampson, Bishop of Worcester, and prove it by many witnesses,

" That the land upon which the castle of Gloucester now stands was in their possession before that castle was built: that they had a garden there; and that a chaplain of their own exercised parochial duties through their means to their own men who had dwellings there; and that the bodies of these persons were buried by them: that, though the land had been exchanged, they had surrendered to no one the parochial jurisdiction that they had therein, but were in possession of it both before and after the foundation of the castle up to the time being:—that Roger de Pistres, to whose custody the castle of Gloucester was first committed after the Conquest, and the whole of his family; likewise after him Durand de Pistres, his brother, who held the same office, and all his family, had been buried by them as parishioners; that the son and family of Walter of Gloucester, who succeeded them (and assumed the habit of a Canon in the diocess of Saint David's, and was there buried), and after these very many of the family of Earl Milo, his successor, reposed among them, and that they had thus, by custom and antiquity, kept up the right of burying those who died within the precincts of the castle, which they assert they ought firmly to maintain."

[9] MS. Froucester, 2. Registr. Eleemosynarii de Standish. f. 1. a. b.

Having debated the matter warmly for two days, and their claim being satisfactorily established, the Priory of Lanthony gave up the point[10]. However, at the entreaty of Robert, Bishop of Hereford, Bernard, Bishop of Saint David's, Roger, the son of Earl Milo, and many barons and knights, the monks of Gloucester agreed that Milo might be interred at Lanthony upon condition that his successors should be brought to the Abbey; and thus the affair was amicably adjusted[11].

3. The protection of their manorial rights is seen in a proceeding that took place in 19 Henry II. respecting the violation of the Abbey fishery of Rudele. The king addressed a writ to the sheriff of Gloncestershire to this effect,—That whereas the Abbat and Convent had a free fishery in Severn, to the extent of their manor of Rudele, in the time of Kings Henry I., Richard, and John, down to the times of Ralph Musard and William De Putot (Dabitot?) sometimes sheriffs of the county,

"So that *we and our predecessors had no right of fishing in this fishery without their will or permission*, the said Ralph and William during their shrievalties, and our bailiffs, and other bailiffs and sheriffs by the will and power of the sheriffs, to which the said Abbat was incapable of making any resistance, did enter the fishery with their boats, to fish therein in our name, contrary to the liberty of the Abbat, &c. we therefore strictly command you to repair to the place where this fishery is, and by the oath of discreet and lawful persons, knights and freemen, by whom the truth may be known, inquire when their boats entered the fishery to fish," &c.

The writ is dated at Westminster, 23 kal. April, 19 Hen. II. and the inquest was held accordingly about the nativity of Saint John the Baptist, A. D. 1235, by William Talbot, then sheriff, at Newnham, upon the oath of twelve jurors; when it was determined, that though they had so done, no one had a right to fish there without leave of the Abbat; and the King, by a farther writ, certified this, whereupon the sacrist is enjoined to take diligent heed lest this privilege, after long *disseisin* recovered with much cost and trouble, may not again be lost; and "the inquest was enrolled and deposited in the treasury of London, in the 19th year of the noble and most pious King Henry, where it may be had recourse to, if need be[12]."

4. The singularity of some grants may amuse, if they do not instruct the historian in the manners of past ages. One of these relates to the above-mentioned Earl Milo. This celebrated character had conferred an estate near the Southgate, in Gloucester, upon a favourite retainer, who afterwards bestowed it upon the Abbey in *almoign;* and thus the curious charter has been preserved. It is remarkable not merely for the simplicity of the manner in which the property is conveyed, but for the humorously affectionate feeling of expression, which seems to have been infused into the lordly donor by his amusing servant in a cheerful hour.

"A Charter of the Earl of Hereford.—Milo, Earl of Hereford, to all his friends, French and English, of England and Wales, health. Know ye that this Folebarba is my *jongleur* and my man[13], I therefore beseech

[10] We find that similar disputes often occurred between the officers of the Cathedral and those of Saint Augustine's Priory at Canterbury. Vide History, &c. of Canterbury Catbedral, by J. Britton, p. 13.

[11] MS. Frouc. I. Registr. pertinens ad Ecclesias, &c. f. 12 b. et seq.

[12] MS. Frouc. II. Registr. Sacristariæ, f. 13 b. et seq.

[13] *Homo meus*, hath done homage to me.

all my friends to protect him, that no injury be done unto him; and I will shew favour to any one who will do bim a kindness for the love of me. And I have granted him the land whereon he dwelleth in fee and heritage to him and to his heir, and by that service whereby he liveth [14]. And if he have an heir or relation to whom he will give it, to that person I grant tbat land as freely as he himself holdeth it; and if he will sell the land to any one, let him be quit for three pence per annum [15]."

Such was the liberal feeling of Milo towards the son of minstrelsy, whose talents had beguiled the dulness of the castle hall.

5. Richard le Brut held a tenement of the Abbey at Pitchcomb, by the title of *Squire Serjeantry*, and the nature of his service is thus particularly explained:

"When any Monk of the Church went on a journey upon business of the Convent, Richard le Brut was to find him a squire, with a proper roadster, to follow the Monk within the realm of England, and to serve him from the time he quitted the Abbey till bis return. And he was to carry tbe Monk's bedding upon his own horse, viz. a mattrass, two blankets, and a coverlid. Item, a book of the said Monk, a cresset, candles, two loaves, and half a *fercarium* of wine, or ale. This he was to be ready and bound to do during the whole year, as often as he should be reasonably required, at the cost of our house. When by reason of the said service the squire dined in the Abbey, he was to receive daily two loaves of squire's bread, with ale thereunto appertaining, and a dish from the kitchen. Should his horse happen to die, the Abbey allowed him no more than ten shillings."

This service was afterwards changed into another serjeantry, viz. that of setting the first dish upon the table in the great hall of the Abbey on the festivals of Saint Peter and Paul, before the Abbat and his successors, or any person of high dignity at that time presiding in the hall. On that day he was to be admitted to the Abbat's table, to eat and drink as honourably as the steward of the house for the time being, and was to have hay and oats for two horses on the ensuing night [16].

But the records handed down to us by the care of Abbat Froucester claim attention in another point of view. Their scattered notices help to furnish some faint but picturesque idea of the then condition and appearance of the Church itself. His Chronicle informs us how, from its first plain but noble form, that part of the building by aile and roof, transept and decoration, successively arose, expanded, and was adorned, up to the days in which he officiated there. Each angle of the western end was flanked by a tower. Looking from this part eastward, through the interior, the general aspect would present that bold, majestic, Norman character, which is now chiefly observable in the nave; but then extended, not concealed as it is at present, behind a veil of more modern work, through the choir to the high altar. The cloisters were just finished as they now appear. But the beautiful central tower had not been raised; and the chapel of our Lady, as built by Ralph and Olympias de Willinton, was probably different in structure and dimensions from that which was subsequently erected on its site. Neither did the spectator enter through that finely proportioned porch which since has graced the western end of the southern aile of the nave.

One of the first objects that caught the eye as it ranged eastward through the body of the Church, must have been the great crucifix, between the nave and the choir. Before it stood the *altar of the holy cross*, at which, in aftertimes, the hood and beads of every newly elected beadsman were solemnly consecrated. At the foot of this altar, in 1273, Adam de

[14] Minstrelsy? [15] MS. Frouc. II. Registr. Sub-eleemosynarii, f. 48 a. [16] Id. f. 40 a.

Clunely, a monk of the house in high reputation for sanctity, had been interred, and many miracles were reported to have been wrought at his grave[17]. Here also was the entrance into the choir, with the square *stone pulpit* over it, commanding the nave. The whole, with the rood-loft and crucifix, must have attracted immediate observation[18]. It was the work of Abbat Wigmore, who was buried on the southern side of it. The northern face of this screen was adorned with tabernacle work and statues by Abbat Horton. In the choir were the stalls constructed by Staunton and Horton; and the high altar, as it then appeared, surmounted by its screen and statues, was the work of the latter Abbat: it was dedicated to Saint Peter. Of many other altars, where services where then performed, their names only are preserved, and though vestiges of them are visible, they cannot exactly be ascertained. Such were those of Saint Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, of Edward the Confessor, where the child Harald was buried, of Saint Andrew the Apostle, and of Saint Thomas the Martyr, which had been built by Thomas de Staunton, brother to the Abbat of that name, and near to which both of them were interred[19]. The name of Saint Andrew is still attached to that chapel wherein the font now stands. There is an altar between this very chapel and the vestry of the lay clerks and choristers (represented in PLATE XII.), another close to the door of the great cloisters, another on the outside of Abbat Seabrooke's Chapel, and in the south transept are remains of two more. Those of Saints Andrew, Edmund, Edward the Confessor, and Thomas the Martyr, were probably all on the north side of the Church. In the Chapel of our Lady was that of the Virgin, and one dedicated to Saint Petronilla. How many of the twelve chapels and altars dedicated, as is said, to the twelve apostles, were then extant, it were useless to inquire. There is no specific evidence respecting them; neither do those in the crypt or galleries appear to be alluded to in the cartulary, so us to enable us to affix a name to any one of them.

At the period of which we speak, the Church was rich in plate, and consecrated utensils, vestments, and costly furniture. The *high altar*, in particular, had a silver gilt cross, and a set of splendid chalices of gold and silver, silver dishes and candelabra, chiefly the gifts of Abbat Horton[20]. Great store of votive offerings of precious metals and jewellery was suspended at Edward the Second's shrine. His tomb, that of Osric, and the monument of Aldred (or more probably it is that of Serlo) remain, perhaps, much in the same situations in which they were then placed, on either side of the high altar. Before it stood the monument of Robert, Duke of Normandy, for his valour and generosity worthy of a better fate, and a more illustrious memorial than he has yet obtained.

This Church, as usual in the Romish establishment, was illuminated by a profusion of *lights at the altars*. Many of them, too feeble emblems of that purer fire of true devotion,

[17] MS. Chron. Fr. f. 31.

[18] The pulpit was demolished in 1718, to make room for the organ; and the whole of the beautiful screen, with its entrances, arch, chapel, pillars, and oratory, was removed about the year 1741. Furney's MS. folio, pp. 192. 320. The present *screen* was erected from the design, and in a great measure at the cost of the late *Reverend Doctor Griffith*, Head of University College in Oxford and Prebendary of this Cathedral. He was moreover in every respect the architect of it. He died in the year 1823, soon after its completion, lamented as an amiable man and a zealous admirer and skilful promoter of this species of English architecture.

[19] MS. Chron. Fr. f. 49. 51, et seq.

[20] Ibid, f.

which will be kept alive in the Christian Church universal till time shall be no more, were perpetually burning; and in the short-sighted, but piously conceived instructions of the founders, were *to burn day and night for ever*. Most of these, and the lands by which they were endowed, were placed under the sacrists' care. For the purpose of finding lights for the altars in geueral, Matilda de Tainton gave the Church of Tainton, and a hermitage and one yard of land: to which, in confirmation of the gift, Ralph Avenel added a husbandman, his wife, and all his family[21]. The Chapel of our Lady was also well supplied. Before the altar, where the mass of the Virgin Mary was celebrated, William de Sandford, besides a taper at the said mass, gave a lamp, burning day and night; and John Bromer, two tapers before the image. John de Maurdyn, Jeffrey Memfred, Philip de Deveneys, and John, Chaplain of Saint Paternus, contributed to the illumination of this Chapel and altar; and Robert de Berkeley gave his Mill of Covel, with lands, for daily and nightly tapers, and at all the festivals of Saint Mary, throughout the year. This gift was for the souls of King Henry, and his heirs, Robert de Berkeley, son of Maurice de Berkeley, Juliana his wife, their ancestors and successors for ever. At the altar of Saint Petronilla, the piety of Milo de Sandhurst, and Ralph and Olympias de Willinton, had provided a lamp daily at the mass, and two chaplains to pray for the souls of themselves, their ancestors and successors, and the faithful departed. John Payne gave a lamp, day and night, for ever before the altar of St. Andrew; and before that of Saint Thomas, were the lamps of Robert de Putteleye and Henry Kaye. Nicholas Fuke and William Fitz Anketill of Lilleton, left endowments of this kind for the altar in front of the greater crucifix in the nave; and Thomas Tholy, setting out on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, made a deed of gift of certain lands, for a lamp to burn daily and nightly before the rood, provided, he should die on his journey to the holy city[22].

Most distinguished of all in this respect, we may imagine, was the *high altar*. John Barefot and John Fankener gave seventy-eight acres, in Monk's Hyde and Cowarn, for a lamp to burn here continually, in honour of Edward the Second; and John Monk had licence from Richard the Second to apply three messuages, and four yard-lands, with their appurtenances at Aylanston, in the county of Warwick, to the same purpose. The Churches of Saint Mary, before the Gate, Saint Giles of Maisemore, Saint Laurence of Barnwood, and Saint Leonard of Upton, had been appropriated to find lights before this altar by Abbat Gilbert Foliot, with advice and consent of the whole Convent. But very remarkable for the liberality of the endowment, and the manner in which it is expressed, is that of Henry the First, when he bestowed the manor of Rudele, with the wood and fishery of Sudrug, to find lights before the altar of Saint Peter, for the soul of Robert Duke of Normandy, "surnamed Curthehoce, my brother." The charters relating to this are couched in such terms as founders are wont to employ, when devoting their possessions to holy uses they give vent to their feelings in expressions of affection towards the object of their donations. He confers ample boons, and asks for no return but prayers. They are in the style of one whose heart was subdued by solemn recollections, and convey an idea of regret, and of attempt to compensate for unmerited sufferings inflicted upon an injured brother.

[21] MS. Frouc. II. Registr. Sacrist. f. x. b.

[22] MS. Frouc. II. Registr. Sacrist. f. iv. b.

That the Church was ever adorned with many architectural monuments may be questioned; but we have sufficient proof that numbers of persons of eminence, both in church and state, have been interred here. The researches of Furney have brought out a long catalogue of the dead, of whom it may in this sense with truth be affirmed, that "their memorials are perished with them." Many who in the earliest times sought a last home within this consecrated ground, unless identified and removed by Aldred or Serlo, await their account without the walls. Many were buried in the Chapter-house. But if all monumental records of these have passed away, it were reasonable that we should look for more in the present Church than are now to be found. Those of a King, a Viceroy, a Duke, and two Abbats are all that can with certainty be ascertained. And if to these be added one of an unknown ecclesiastic, who was a founder, and another to a knight and his lady, we have made out the list of monuments whose dates are anterior to the Reformation. It were, perhaps, going too far to attribute the whole of this to damage done at that period; neither is it chargeable upon the last civil war: for it is well known that while the Cathedral was in the hands of the Parliamentarians it received comparatively but little injury, through the good feeling of Massey the governor, and of Thomas Pury the younger, a man of taste and literature, cast upon most unfavourable times[23]. It is probable then, that though there might have been other mural or isolated monuments, the number was not large. Hardly a vestige of the brasses; and not a single entire inscription, that savours of high antiquity, has descended to posterity.

The Chronicle mentions bodies buried before and nigh to the high altar. Looking at the spot, and considering how it is circumstanced, it is not immediately apparent in what sense and with what limitation these expressions must be understood. From the steps which lead out of the lower part of the choir to the presbytery, an inclined plane extends to the steps of that altar. Immediately under this portion of the Church is the crypt: but between the pavement of the presbytery and the vaulting of that subterraneous apartment, in the opinion of competent judges, there is not sufficient thickness of room for sepulture. If this be really so, it may be concluded, that bodies said to be thus deposited lie below the steps leading out of the choir; where the bones of Curthose would be found.

From the building let us revert once more to its inmates. It is observable that the number of Monks upon this foundation has been various at different times. Where the means of support had long been regularly established, and there could be little difficulty in filling up vacancies, the reasons for this variation are not very obvious. Serlo, at his coming in 1072, found only two or three adults and eight boys; but at his decease, in 1104, he left the number increased to a hundred. If so many could then be maintained, when the convent was refounded and settled anew in statute and constitution, and when so many donations were subsequently made towards its maintenance, it is singular that

[23] He had a lease of the Deanery, dated July 3, 1648, for seven years, at 40*s.* per annum, having laid out 80*l.* in the repair thereof. Pury, with Sir Matthew Hale and the officers of the garrison, about the same time, restored, and were great benefactors to the library. Furney's MS. folio, p. 322. But the library has been renovated in a better taste by the present Dean and Chapter, in 1828.

they should not have kept up the number. When Edward III., in 1328, appropriated three Churches to the Abbey, he appointed three Monks, in addition to the antient quota, to pray for the soul of his parent. Under the government of Boysfield there were fifty-four; and under that of Froucester forty-five, besides the Abbat. In 1510 they are reckoned at forty-eight in the Abbey, and sixteen in the cells: and in the reign of Henry VIII. those who subscribed to the king's supremacy, though these might not be all, are stated at thirty-five. These inequalities may sometimes have arisen from interference of ecclesiastical visitors upon different occasions, and for causes now unknown.

Throughout the whole period, extending from the accession of the house of Lancaster to the union of the Roses, a period most interesting, but very defective in our civil and ecclesiastical histories, a wide gap occurs in the annals of the Monks of Gloucester. The ledgers of only the three last Abbats, Braunche, Newton, and Parker are in existence; and supply some scanty information relative to their condition and economy during part of the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. immediately preceding the dissolution. To these the remaining portion of our Essay will be chiefly confined.

Great Abbies maintained a crowd of officers and dependents in various departments. In the times of Boysfield and Froucester, it is said they amounted to two hundred; in which all, in town and country, must be included. Furney, from the occurrence of them in the original documents, has particularly specified between eighty and a hundred. Their bailiffs and collectors were very numerous. As every thing in these establishments was professedly carried on with great formality and order, most of these persons, especially such as were employed immediately about the house, from the steward and physician down to the groom and the servant in the brewery, held their places by grant, or patent. These instruments were made out by the clerk of the treasury, or, as he is also styled, the clerk of the cellarer, in which not only their salary, clothing, and maintenance are, for the most part, minutely defined; but in some instances their duties, both positive and negative, are distinctly laid down. The reader shall be presented with some abstracts from them.

1. Foremost among their civil officers, in estimation and honour, seems to have been the *chief steward*. His office was executed by deputy; but that appointment the Abbey reserved to themselves. Indeed the stewards of the lands and manors of their cells seem to have been gentlemen, and some of them might have the privilege of nominating their substitute: but to two of these appointments they evidently attached much importance, and at least in latter times contrived, by the disposal of them, to connect themselves with persons of rank or interest, whose names might not only grace their roll, but whose exertions, if needful, might promote their welfare. One was the stewardship of the lands, &c. of their Priory of Ewenny within the Lordship of Ogmore and Duchy of Lancaster, in the county of Glamorgan, to which, in the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII., we have the successive nominations of Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester, Sir Thomas More, and Henry, Earl of Worcester; and in the appointment of the latter, where it is expressed, that "he shall receive twenty shillings per annum from the Prior of Ewenny, and other profits due to his office;" it is added, "and for good advice and assistance afforded, and to be afforded, to us and our Priory." But the other, that of chief steward of the courts, &c. of the Monastery of Gloucester, whose annual stipend was ten marks, paid by the cellarer, was in

more immediate intercourse with the whole of their interests. Sir Giles Brydges held this in reversion, 20 Henry VII., and Sir William Kyngston in 20 Henry VIII., afterwards in conjunction with Anthony, his son and heir apparent[24]. This is the celebrated Sir William Kyngston whom Wolsey dreaded, who was Captain of the King's guard and Lieutenant of the Tower, when the unfortunate Anne Boleyn was beheaded[25]. Kyngston and his son outlived the prosperity of the Abbey, and shared in its spoils.

2. The *Under-Steward* of the Abbey, however, as the principal manager of their receipts and concerns abroad, was on this account more immediately useful to them. John Arnold, Esq. held this post for many years, from 4 Henry VIII., and afterwards procured his son Nicholas to be nominated with him as his successor. He was treated with great consideration, had numerous perquisites, and was provided for in case of sickness or inability. His stipend was five pounds per annum: and he had livery of cloth as often as any squire of the household, or domestic of the Abbat, and four yards besides at Christmas; seven white loaves, called *myches*, weekly; three shillings and fourpence for ale every quarter; on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays, out of Lent, a mess of the first course, such as is put before two Monks; and the same every Sunday and Wednesday in Lent. Hay, litter, and standing for two horses in the cellarer's stable. If sick, his pay was to be forty shillings per annum; every day one Monk's allowance of flesh, and eight shillings and sixpence every quarter to provide his ale. His servant had every day a loaf of grooms-bread. The under-steward received also, yearly, two loads of wood, or two hundred staff-kids (strung faggots), and eight pounds of candles. His dwelling was in a chamber, with a garden annexed to it, called "*the sextry*." Some little alteration and addition was made in this when his son was associated with him, who was not to act in his father's time, but with permission of the Abbat. Both of them were appointed for life. Arnold was to audit all the accounts of the bailiffs, farmers, and other dependents of the Abbey; those of the bailiffs were engrossed on parchment. The audit was annually held between the feasts of Saint Martin and Saint Andrew[26].

3. Next to the under-steward, in utility and real consequence, was, perhaps, the *Clerk of the treasury*, or clerk of the cellarer. He held all the cellarer's courts. He made out all grants, presentations, advowsons, leases, copies of court rolls, and all writings under the common seal of the Abbey. His chamber was near the west gate of the Abbey, where he kept all the books, rolls, and muniments. Thomas Parker had this appointment 29 Henry VIII. He was the attorney to manage their business in the Exchequer, for which his annual fee was twenty shillings: his salary as clerk was four pounds per annum. Every Christmas he received cloth for a gown of the suit and livery of the office of under-steward and other counsellors of the Monastery, or thirty shillings in lieu thereof. The cellarer, whose carriages brought in the supply of fire-wood to the Convent, delivered three loads to him every year. He had maintenance for one horse in the stable of the Abbey;

[24] Registr. Braunche. ff. 37. 66. Malverna. 144. 283. Ledger, 13, et alibi.

[25] Ellis. Original Letters, Series I. vol. i. p. 53. He was sheriff for the county of Gloucester, 7 Hen. VIII.; and is a conspicuous personage in Fox's account of the imprisonment and martyrdom of Bishop Hooper.

[26] Registr. Newton. f. 52. MS. Ledger, ff. 80. 110.

and the usual corrody of meat, drink, allowance of parchment, paper, candles, and other profits to his post appertaining, and that for life[27].

4. The *chief porter* kept the keys of all the Abbey gates: his salary was thirteen shillings and fourpence per annum, paid quarterly: he had a chamber in the Abbey, next to the Abbey-gate[28]. His weekly corrody was three white loaves, called myches, and two called holyers, with seven loaves of squire-bread: for ale, every quarter, three shillings and fourpence. On every flesh or fish day he had a mess of flesh or fish of the first course, as much as is set before two Monks. He had a gown every year of the suit of the gentlemen of the household of the Lord Abbat. This was granted in reversion to Robert Ingram, 28 Henry VIII.[29]

This review of lay dependents might be greatly enlarged; but it shall close with the introduction of a personage of no little importance among the fraternity. His grant of corrody, which will be given in a more detailed form, brings him out, like some figure touched by the hand of Holbein, habited in his robe of broad cloth, trimmed with fur, a constant attendant upon the bodily welfare of the Abbat and Monks of Saint Peter. He is a foreigner, and probably not in holy orders; but his profession has stamped its just value on those who exercise it in every age. It opens in this style:—

"To all the faithful of Christ to whom the present writing shall come, Thomas, by divine permission, Abbat of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Gloucester, and the Convent of the said house, health in the Lord everlasting. Know ye, &c.

"The Abbat and Convent grant to their beloved in Christ, *Master William de Saint Severino, Bachelor of Medicine*, for his good service in the art of medicine and laudable counsel, &c. the following corrody for the term of his life. Every day a Monk's loaf. Every flesh day such a dish of flesh, and every fish day such a dish of fish at dinner and supper as is served to a Monk of the Convent. An annual pension of two marks to find himself in beer; and another annual pension of two marks for his stipend at the festivals of Saint Andrew, the Annunciation, Saint Mary, the Nativity, and Saint John the Baptist, by equal portions: annually from the cellarer three waggon loads of fire wood, or two hundred faggots, called 'kayshides;' and from the sub-cellarer twelve pounds of tallow candles. The said Master William shall receive yearly, towards Christmas, four yards of broad cloth, with fur, of the suit of the upper clergy of the said Monastery; and shall have a chamber in the Abbey, called 'Cheltenham's Chamber[30].' Every day one servant's loaf, called squire-bread, for his boy, and ten shillings yearly to provide beer for said boy, payable at four terms of the year, with a dish of potage on every conventual day. To have and to hold to the said Master William de Saint Severino, the aforesaid corrody of bread, flesh, fish, wages, fire, candle, clothing, and bread, with ten shillings for his servant's beer, for the term of his life.—For which corrody the said Master William shall be faithful to the

[27] MS. Ledger, from 20 to 30 Hen. VIII. f. 150.

[28] This gate, the site of which is over against the present porch, was originally called the *Lych-gate*, from the circumstance of those bodies being rested under it, that came for burial, till they were met by the usual procession: the lane was called *Lych-lane*. Here it is to be presumed the corpse of Edward II. was halted; and it may be conjectured that upon this account it was rebuilt by Edward III., and has ever since been called King Edward's Gate.

[29] Id. f. 115.

[30] "De Cheltenham" was a great benefactor to Gloucester Hall, in Oxford. Many chambers in the Abbey seem to have received their names from inmates or visitants. In the Infirmary was one called "The Duke of Bedford's Chamber," Ledger, f. 79. And there is a room in the Deanery which is traditionally said to have been the bed-chamber of Henry VIII.

Abbat and Convent and their successors, shall keep their secrets, and shall lay aside all other care when he shall be called upon and required to the care of the said Abbat and Convent and their successors, or any Monk of the said Convent; and shall apply his diligence in the said faculty, and in the execution thereof, to the utmost of his knowledge. Neither shall it be lawful for the said Master William to retire from the service of the said Abbat and Convent, or their successors, without permission of the Lord Abbat, or Prior, first asked and obtained; and during his recess, so often as leave shall be granted to him to go out of town, then the said William shall shew the said Abbat and Convent and their successors in what place they shall find him; and, if need be, the said William shall return with all speed, at his own expense to the said Abbat and Convent, and their successors: and if he be absent without leave, his corrody of bread, fish, and all things above named, shall cease till his return to the said service. Moreover the said Abbat and Convent have granted to the aforesaid Master William, for the sake of his recreation, seven days in every quarter of a year to visit his friends, during which he may receive all things aforesaid; but if he shall be absent beyond seven days the corrody shall cease, according to the time of his absence, till he return to the aforesaid service. Sealed with the common seal and the seal of the said Master William, and dated in the Chapter-house on the last day of July, A.D. 1507[31]."

After all, these grants for life, without reference to future conduct or character[32] these associations of father and son, survivorships, reversions, and permissions to execute their trusts by deputy, suggest the strong tendency to abuses, with which these institutions were then infected, and which promoted their decay.

Their *leases* are no less instructive in peculiarities, relating to their habits and domestic arrangements. Many of them contain clauses connected with purveyance and good cheer. In these their festivals are not forgotten. The Manor of Froucester was to furnish a boar to the cellarer, at the feast of All Saints. The farmers of Buckland Manor were bound to fatten thirty capons, to be delivered to them by the chamberlain, against the capon-feast. From that of Preston they derived twenty-seven quarters of wheat, twenty geese, as many ducks, capons, and pullets, and four bushels of green peas, at the several seasons of Midsummer, All Saints, and the Festival of Lent. And from Abbelode they received, annually, twenty capons, twenty pullets, thirty ducks, fifteen young pigs, two hundred and forty hen-eggs, pigeons, butter, cheese, and milk. Standish supplied them with abundance of beech-wood for firing. Among the copies of their leases are several relating to their flocks of sheep; in these their numbers are specified, the livery of the Abbey shepherd is mentioned; and in one instance their shelter in winter, and their protection from heat and flies in the summer, is particularly laid down. Wherever any court is held, the lessee of that manor is bound to entertain the representatives of the house. The farmer at Monk-Leighton found wine, beer, and bread, for those who were engaged in the procession there on Holy Thursday[33].

[31] Registr. Braunche, f. 71. b.

[32] In one instance, that of John Bodelych, the Convent panter, there is a proviso, that he shall be removed for misconduct. Registr. Braunche, f. 60, a. All their retainers were usually put to their oaths, however, to the observance of their duty, and to keep the secrets of the house. Monks, obtaining a *bene decessit* to go to another house, were put to a similar oath of secrecy. This was the case, in 1516, with William Emley, who removed to the Priory of Abergavenny. Registr. Malvern. f. 69.

[33] Registr. Braunche, ff. 7, 8. 14. 31. Malverne. ff. 145. 177. Ledger, ff. 30. 125, et alibi.

According to the Chroniele, Staunton was the first who made a residenee for the Abbats at the pleasant *Vineyard*, that from its gentle knoll overlooking the Severn to the eastward, eommanded the city and Abbey, baeked by the distant hills. Unquestionably this was a favourite residence, and, on more aecouuts than one, a spot of advantageous retirement. When Glouceester, closely built and thickly inhabited, was oeeasionally visited by pestilential disease, and the infeetion reaehed westward across the river to Over, the Abbat, who should not think himself beyond its influenee at the Vineyard, was provided with a farther retreat. By lease of the Manor and Mansion-house of Highnam to John Arnold, Isabel his wife and Nieholas their son, for seventy years[34], it is stipulated, that "at reasonable summons and warning of the Abbat and his suceessors, when plague of pestilenee shall happen in Gloucester or Over, it shall be lawful to the said Abbat and his suecessors, during the plague, to have a eonvenient portion of the aforesaid mansion for the residenee of themselves and their men, at the proper eost of the Abbat, during the plague."

It were unjust to omit all mention of their regular *alms-givings* to the poor. For these they were well provided by liberal donations. The registers of the almoner and sub-almoner abundantly testify the extent of their ability to exereise benefieence; and charity itself should lead us to eonclude that they gave as frcely as they had reeeived. Yet it must not be supposed, that at the gate of the Abbey they doled out merely the scraps that came from the table of the refectory, for these were the perquisite of the serjeant of the refectory; it is reeorded to have been a part of his offiec, as an attendant in the eellar, to *draw the alms* of the poor people[35].

Akin to their almsgivings were the *hospitalities* they had exereised for ages, and whieh had oecasionally well nigh reduced them to distress. These kindnesses, consolatory to the traveller, and so graeeful in the occupiers of a rcligious house, were extended to minute attentions, of whieh a conception would hardly be formed, even in days of boasted delieacy and refinement: provision was made not only for the rider, but for the horse to help him on his way. Katherine de Glouecster, reliet of Walter Fitz-Peter, and Wymart, relict of John Franchevaler, in the genuine spirit of female compassion, left lands to find shoes for the horses of religious visitors who might need them[36].

An apparent privilege, but real disadvantage, was the right that they enjoyed of *electing their Abbat*. This often gave rise to contested clcetions and bitter dissensions. We meet with instances of Abbats ehosen "by way of eompromise," when the struggle was terminated by mutual eompaet of the eontending parties. But their diffcrences were not always settled so satisfaetorily; and the interposition of royal authority had been neeessary to bring them to peaee[37]. Towards the elose of their career this contentious disposition raged among them, perhaps, more than ever. The election of John Newton was conducted with great heat; and the various doeuments relating to it oeeupy nearly forty closely written

[34] Dated 12 March, 7 Hen. VIII. Registr. Malv. f. 53. Highnam is about a mile to the westward of the Vineyard; and is now the property of Sir William Guise, Bart. The Abbat had another house at Prinknash on the hills, about four miles eastward of Gloucester.

[35] Registr. Braunche, f. 72, a.

[36] Registr. Hostillariæ. f. 1, b.

[37] Registr. Newton, f. 36.

leaves, double columns, of his register. These disputes brought scandal upon the fraternity, and furnished their adversaries with arguments against them. But at this time it was not enough that they should have quarreled among themselves: a serious controversy arose, during the government of Newton, between the Abbat and Convent, and the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Gloucester, respecting right of common in some meadows near the city. It was attended with rioting and assault on the part of the townsmen; and was at length settled by the arbitration of the Abbat of Winchcomb and the Prior of Llanthony[38]. All these things tended to increase the growing unpopularity of the house; and another cause, which operated universally to the disparagement of these societies, was equally conspicuous here. Though they might be indulgent masters to those who were absolutely under their control, yet in their zealous adherence to ancient privilege and usage they had been too tardy in manumitting their *villeins*. This class of persons probably had elsewhere, for the most part, obtained their liberty, before such of them had received it who were subject to ecclesiastical lords. The registers of the later Abbats present many of their forms of manumission; the last of which may furnish a specimen and memorial of a servitude, happily now unknown in England.

" Know all men by these presents, that we, William, by divine permission, Abbat of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Gloucester, and the Convent of that house, have manumitted and given to freedom Richard Daunser, sen^r. of Sendbrugge *(Saintbridge)*, in the county of the vill of Gloucester, Richard Daunser, son of the said Richard, sen^r., and Agnes, daughter of the said Richard Daunser, our *neifs* of our Manor of Barton-Abbats, nigh Gloucester, in the county of the vill aforesaid, and the whole of their offspring, begotten, or to be begotten, to be free from all yoke of servitude and like condition, with all their goods and chattels whatsoever. So that neither we, nor our successors, shall dispose of the said Richard, Richard and Agnes, nor their offspring, begotten nor to be begotten, nor their chattells, towards any parts of the world whatsoever; neither shall we be able for the future to make any exaction or claim (upon them) by reason of any *neiveté (nativitatis)*, or like condition; but shall be excluded from all action of law and claim for ever. In witness whereof we have affixed our common seal. Given in our Chapter-house, 18th September, 1522."

The causes and circumstances that led to the abolition of these institutions need no observations here; and it is time to conclude this sketch of the privileges and customs of the Monastery of Gloucester; an outline, faint and imperfect, that the writer would gladly have strengthened and filled up, had he not already exceeded the proposed limits of this work. While many may be of opinion that sufficient has already been said of them; to others it may seem that all that has been produced is little enough to bring forward of those who occupied this spot for many hundred years, and the very thought of whose existence here appears now but as a dream. But their remains proclaim to us that they ought not, and will not be forgotten. They who, in black Benedictine vestments, trod

[38] Registr. Newton, f. 61, b. et seq.—The unfortunate Abbat's barber came in for his share of the mischief; it is said, in the articles against the burgesses, that certain of them, to the number of about sixty, " *The house of John Barbo^r, houshold servaunt unto the said Abbot, brake & entred as well by the wyndouse as the dores, pulling doune his basons there hangyng, & brake them almost to peces, And also brake & cast away his wax & tapurs in the same shopp being not yet so contented, but also w^t swerds & Bucklers billes and staves into the said John Barbur & Rob^t Colier houshold servaunts unto the said Abbot being in the house of the said John Barbo^r. made assaute & them bete & the said Rob^t. Colier sore wounded.*"

these hallowed courts have departed; their processions, and images, and lights, and altars have disappeared; their long peal at *Prime* is heard no more [39]. Their religious ceremonies have been succeeded by a purer mode of worship and less encumbered rites. Yet their records, and Church, and cloisters show us in part what men they were; how wealthy and influencial in their generation; how diligent in the promotion of certain of the liberal arts; how studious, accordiug to their notions, of employing their best efforts in rearing and decorating a temple to the service of God. And should the errors, which induced their downfall, never be obliterated, neither will some portion of their deservings ever cease to be had in remembrance, while that tower shall lift its head above the vale which for so many centuries it has adorned. There long may it continue in undiminished beauty, the admiration of the traveller and of the Antiquary, an indication of the pious feeling and talent of ages past, and a model of architectural proportion and elegance for many to come.

It may be useful to subjoin some general idea of the damages and restorations that this venerable building has sustained by neglect, interference, or a just spirit of improvement since the Reformation. At that time all those parts which had belonged to the officers of the Church had run so far to ruin, that the King ordered sixty pounds for their repair. In 1576 the whole fabric was in a very ruinous condition; and in 1616 it became more out of order than almost any church of the same class in England; so that Laud, who was then Dean, obtained a chapter-act for speedy attention to it, and sixty pounds per annum were allowed for that purpose. But then came the inattention and consequent dilapidation of the civil war; in which, though as it has already been mentioned (page 11), the Cathedral suffered comparatively but little, it must not be concealed that there was a time during this season of confusion, when its total demolition was contemplated by some persons, who had agreed among themselves for their several portions. But, after the removal of the battlements, which adorned the Lady Chapel, this work of destruction was arrested. Part of the little cloisters was, however, pulled down about that period. Dorney, the town clerk, in one of his annual orations, about 1653, exhorts the officers of the city, in whose hands the charge was then vested, " to take care of this its greatest ornament, which some do say is now in danger of falling." Furney MS. folio, pp. 313, 314. But, interiorly, it has sustained some of its most serious injury from the ill-directed attempts of those who designed no more than to beautify and improve it. Miserable, according to Furney, must have been the mutilations of the entrance into the choir, in 1741, under Bishop Benson. Though of the well intended, but badly executed, alterations then introduced as little is now to be seen as of the beautiful work which they supplanted. It has all given way in turn, and the particulars of this havock may therefore be passed over in silence. A more correct feeling in the architecture of these ancient structures is the offspring of our own days; and it is more consolatory to be assured, as to what is left, that the laudable exertions of the late and the present Dean and Chapter have not only effected some admirable restorations, but have progressively placed all parts of the building at present in good repair.

J. W.

[39] Before the Reformation the Abbey tower had chimes upon eight bells. Regist. Malverne, fo. 142.

INDEX.

Abbesses of Gloucester,—Kyneburga, Eadburga, and Eva, 4.
Abbey of Gloucester, early history of, obscure, 2. Essay, 1; established, 5; pulled down and rebuilt by Aldred, 6; burnt, and rebuilt by Serlo, 7; dedicated in 1100, 7; repaired and increased by William the Conqueror, 8; state of, after the conquest, Essay, 1; privileges obtained by, ib. 2; priories attached to, and increase of possessions, ib. 3; enclosed with a wall, 8; partially destroyed by fire, 9; church frequented by eminent persons, Essay, 3; parliaments, &c. held in, 9, 24. Essay, 3; tower fell down, 11; rebuilt, 13, 15. Essay, 3; burnt, and injured by lightning, 12; gradual decay and poverty of, Essay, 3, 4; oppressed by King John, suffered by fire, wall built between the abbey and St. Oswald's priory, 13; buildings again burnt, 14; new roof of the nave completed, and south-western tower begun, 15; finished, 16; monks' stalls and aqueduct, 15; advantages arising from the reception of the body of Edward II., 21. Essay, 4; abbots' chamber, screens, St. Andrew's aile (north transept), 21; vault of the choir, 22; high altar, presbytery, abbots' stalls, and St. Paul's aile, 23; condition and appearance of the house in Abbot Froucester's time, Essay, 8; west front, south porch, and pillars of the nave, 26; central tower rebuilt, 27; choir repaved, 28; rendered unpopular by contentions with the townspeople, &c. Essay, 17.
Abbey, visitation of, by the bishop of Worcester, and disputes as to his right, 15, 19, 20, 25, 30; regulations concerning the vacancy, 19, 21, 25; vestments, utensils, &c. given to, 21, 23. Essay, 9; compositions made with the town, 26, 27; valuation of, at the dissolution, 30; (see Cathedral.)
Abbey gate, Essay, 14.
Abbots of Gloucester, notices of,—Edric, 5; Wulstan, 6; Serlo, 7; Peter, 8; Godeman, 9; de Lacy and Foliot, 10; Hameline, 11; Carbonel, 12; Blond, 13; de Bredon, 14; Hen. Foliot, 15; de St. John, de Felda, and de Hamme, 16; de Gamages, 17; Thokey, 20; Wiggemore, 21; de Stanton, 22; de Horton, 23; Boyfield, 24; Froucester, 25; Morton and Morwent, 26; Boulers and Seabrooke, 27; Hanley, Farley, and Malvern, 28; Braunche, Newton, and Malverne alias Parker, 29.
Abbots, right of election of, Essay, 16.
Aile, south, built, 20; described, 56.
Aldred, archbishop of York, monument of, described, 68; view of monument, title-page.
Alms, where distributed, Essay, 16.
Altars, names of various, Essay, 9; profusion of lights at, ib. 10; under care of the sacrist, donations to provide lamps, ib.
Altar-screens, Essay, 9; description of, 62.
Architect, monastic, 15.
Architecture, coincidence of style of, 49.

Bell, great, size of, 61.
Benson, Bishop, monument of, 75.
Bishop, Rev. Charles, inscription for, 76.
Bishoprick of Gloucester, remarks on the origin of, 1; letters of endowment, 31; annexed to the see of Worcester, 33.
Bishops of Gloucester,—Wakeman, 32; Hooper, 33; Brookes, 34; Cheiney and Bullingham, 35; Goldsborough, Ravis, and Parry, 36; Thomson, Smith, and Goodman, 37; Nicholson, 38; Prickett and Frampton, 39; Fowler, 40; Willis, Wilcocks, and Sydall, 41; Benson, Johnson, and Warburton, 42; Yorke, 44; Hallifax and Beadon, 45; Huntingford, Ryder, and Bethell, 46.
Bishops, chronological list of, 80.
Blackleach, aldermau, monument of, 74.
Bohun, Humphry de, monument of, 71.
Books and Essays, list of, 84—87.
Buttresses described, 58; view of, plates iv. viii.

Cathedral, foundation and establishment of, 31; its officers and successive bishops, from 1541 to 1829, 32 et seq.; historical notices of the erection and alterations of the, 47 et seq.; reference to ground plan, 48, 53, plate i.; interior area, 54 et seq.; exterior features, 57 et seq.
Carols, defined, 64.
Chambers, named from their inmates, Essay, 14.
Chapel of our Lady,—see Lady Chapel.
Chapels, names of, Essay, 9; noticed, 50, 53.
Chapel of St. Bridget, 13, note.
Chapter-house described, 55, 64.
Choir repaved, 42; described, 61; interior view of, plate x.; compartments on north side of, plate xi.; section of, plate xvii.
Chroniclers, inaccuracy of, 2; neglect of, as to records relative to buildings, 47.
Church of St. Mary ante Portam, on the foundation of, 12, note.
Cloisters burnt, 18; rebuilt, 26; described, 63; interior view of, plate xiv.; groining, &c., plate xxi., No. 2.
Cluneley, a monk, miracles at his grave, Ess. 9.
Crypt, plan and description of, 49—52; view of, plate xiii.; section of, plate xvii.
Curthose, Robert, interred in the choir, 10; monument of, Essay, 9; described, 69; effigy of, plate xxii. fig. 3.

Deans, chronological list of, with notices, 81—83.
Dormitory, blown down, and rebuilt, 19.

Edward II. (King), anecdote of, 20; expenses attending his burial, 20; offerings at his tomb, 21, 22, note; interment at Glouceester, Essay, 4; tomb, ib. 5; described, 70; view of, plate xv.; ditto of effigy, plate xxii. fig. 2.
Ellis, Rev. Anthony, monument of, 75.

Fires, remarks on frequency of, 13, note.
Fisbery, rights of, and proceedings respecting, Essay, 7.
Fitz-William, Thomas, monument of, 73.
Froueester, Abbot, account of, 25; his character and collections, Essay, 5.

Gloucester, a Roman station, 2; a bishopriek, 3; fire in, 14; visited by Saxon and Norman kings, Essay, 1; royal palace at, ib. 3; castle at, subordinate to the abbey, ib. 6.
Gloucester hall (now Worcester college), Oxford, founded, 17.
Goldsborough, Bishop, monument of, 73.
Guise, Sir John, monument of, 76.

Harald, a boy murdered by the Jews, 11; burial of, 69.
Henry III. (King), coronation of, 13.
Hospitalities described, Essay, 16.

Jenner, Edward, M. D., memoir of, and monument, 77 et seq.
Jones, alderman, monument and anecdote of, 74.
Jongleur, grant to Folebarba the, Essay, 8.

King, Rev. Benjamin, monument of, 74.
Kings,—see Edward, Henry, &c.

Lady Chapel, founded, 14; agreement concerning, 15, note; rebuilt, 28; new pinnaeles erected, 42; described, 63; view of exterior, plate vi.; interior view of, plate xx.
Leases, instructive in peculiarities, Essay, 15.
Ledgers, of the three last abbots, Essay, 12.
Lideford, Elias de, an architect, 15.
Llanthony abbey, its disputes with that of St. Peter's, Essay, 6.
Lych gate, why so called, Essay, 14, note.

Machen, Thomas, monument of, 73.
Malverne, Abbot, monumental chapel crected by, 30, 57.
Manumission, forms of, Essay, 17.
Monastic officers, list of, 25; held their places by patent, Essay, 12; chief steward, understeward, clerk of the treasury, and chief porter, duties and perquisites of, ib. 12—14; batebelor of medicine, ib. 14.
Monks, number at various times, Essay, 11, 12.
Monuments, account of, and remarks on, 65; few anterior to the Reformation, Essay, 11; little injured in tbe civil wars, ib.
Morley, Mrs. monument of, 76.
Myches defined, Essay, 13.

Nave of the church, 55, plates vii. and viii.; south aile of, 56.
Nicholson, Bishop, monument of, 74.
Nutriti defined, 29.
Nunnery, founded by Wulphere, 3; completed by Osric, 4; nuns dispersed, 4; repaired by Beornulph, 5; see ABBEY.

Obits, ordinances respecting, 17, note; 23, note.
Organ-screen, 60.
Osborn, a monk, wrote treatises on divinity, 12, note.
Osric, the founder, inscription to, 4; tomb described, 66; place of burial doubtful, ib. note; effigy of, plate xxii. fig. 1.

Painting, old altar-piece, 62.
Palace, royal, at Glouceester, Essay, 3.
Parker, Abbot, monument of, 73.
Paul, Sir George Onesiphorus, bust of, 76.
Powell, Judge, statue of, 74.
Pulpit of stone, Essay, 9.

Refectory, pulled down and rebuilt, 16.
Roman pavement discovered, 12, note.

Seabrooke, Abbot, 27; monument of, 73.
Serjeantry, curious species of, Essay, 8; commutation of, ib.
Sextry defined, Essay, 13.
Sheep of the monastery, 18.
South porch, described, 58; exterior view of, plate iv.; section, plate iii.
Star-hole, 61.
Sturgeon, laws relative to, Essay, 2.

Tower, noticed, 57; elevation and section of, plate xvi.; general view of, plates ii. vi. xviii.
Tournay, Robert Abbot of, imprisoned, 12.
Transepts, described, 56; elevation and section of, plate xvi.; exterior view of south ditto, plate xviii.; interior view of north ditto, plate xii.
Traylebaston, observations on the term, 19.
Tulley, Robert, an architect, 27.

Vine-yard, Essay, 16.

Warburton, Bishop, memoir of, 42, 75.
Webb, John, esq., monument, 76.
West front, described, 57; exterior view of, plate ii.; section of, plate iii.
Whispering gallery, 63.
Window, west, 57, 60; east, 63.

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C. Whittingham, Chiswick.

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ARCHITECTURAL MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH.

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To the very REV.D HEN.Y BEEKE, D.D. DEAN of BRISTOL, &c.&c. this Plate is inscribed with sentiments of respect & esteem by the AUTHOR.

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THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

THE ABBEY, AND CATHEDRAL CHURCH

OF

Bristol:

ILLUSTRATED BY

A SERIES OF ENGRAVINGS

OF

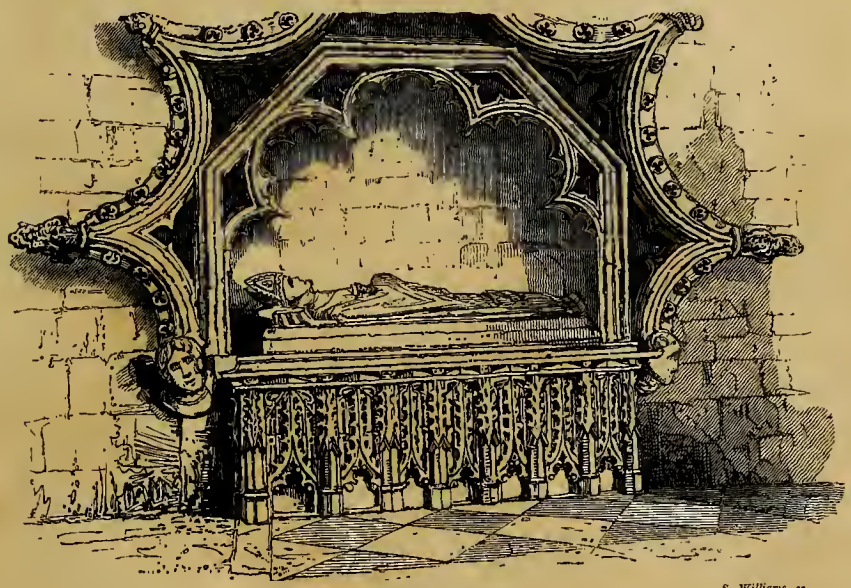
VIEWS, ELEVATIONS, PLANS, AND DETAILS OF THAT EDIFICE;

WITH

Biographical Anecdotes of Eminent Persons connected with the Establishment.

BY JOHN BRITTON, F.S.A. M.R.S.L.

HONORARY MEMBER OF THE BRISTOL PHILOSOPHICAL AND LITERARY SOCIETY; AND OF OTHER SOCIETIES IN NORMANDY, ENGLAND, AND SCOTLAND.



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1830.

C. WHITTINGHAM, CHISWICK.

TO

GEORGE WEARE BRAIKENRIDGE, ESQ.

F.S.A. AND F.G.S.

OF BROOMWELL HOUSE, BRISLINGTON, NEAR BRISTOL.

MY DEAR SIR,

You have more than common claims on my private esteem and public respect. Many years have passed away since we first became acquainted, and whilst I have been actively engaged in the execution of Topographical and Antiquarian Publications, you have enjoyed the "*otium cum dignitate*" of rural ease, and have found much rational gratification in making extensive and valuable collections elucidatory of the History and Antiquities of your neighbouring City. Bristol is a place of peculiar interest to the Topographer and provincial Historian, and the materials you have amassed will be eminently useful to him who may hereafter undertake to give a complete history of it to the world. Having been zealously and assiduously occupied in this class of literature for more than thirty years, and feeling a still increasing partiality for the study and pursuit, I cordially sympathize with, and almost envy, those who, like yourself, have the means of

indulging freely and fully in it as an amusement. It is replete with novelty, variety, and engaging attractions; all conducive to rational employment, to local and general information, and to that mental relaxation and exercise which impart both pleasure and improvement. Your library and habits are evidences of this assertion: and under these considerations I feel a particular pleasure in addressing this Volume to one so well disposed to patronize works illustrative of the history and antiquities of Bristol, and so well qualified to appreciate their real and comparative value.

With best wishes for your health, and hopes we may both live to see that city and port increase in prosperity and varied improvements, I also trust that art, science, and literature, may have warm and efficient friends in the more wealthy part of its citizens, whilst commerce, trade, and industry, may be promoted and rewarded amongst all the other classes of the community.

Believe me your sincere

and obliged friend,

London—January, 1830. J. BRITTON.

PREFACE.

A PREFACE is at once an introduction to a book and the farewell of its author. After much care, labour, and anxiety, in preparing his work for publication, and after putting the last touches to it, as the painters say, for public inspection, he wishes to propitiate the critic by explaining certain points or opinions which he imagines that such a reader may not immediately descry. In proportion to his desire of pleasing will be his exertions to effect it. On various accounts the present volume requires a preface; and, with all the brevity possible, the Author will state his case, and take his leave.

Bristol has peculiar claims on his feelings, both from early associations and from gratitude. Though not his natal home, he considers his paternal ancestors as connected with the city and its immediate vicinity. In boyish days he heard much of the merchants and tradesmen, and of some peculiar privileges enjoyed by the freemen of Bristol. One of his uncles resided many years in that city, and sailed from its port to the island of Jamaica, where he settled, amassed property, and died a bachelor. Plantations, sugar, and slaves, were talked of as his inheritance; but his elder brother, the Author's father, was irresolute, inactive, and made no exertions to obtain his rights, or even to ascertain them. They were, however, themes of frequent speculation at the family fire-side; but no effort was ever made to take possession of this West Indian property. At Corston, near Bristol, the Author's grandfather resided for many years on his own estate, which, it is said, ought to have descended, legally, to the Author of this Volume: but the lamentable and distressing derangement of family affairs, his own privations, and want of influence or knowledge in early life, precluded him from making any efforts to reclaim his lost rights, or obtain his hereditary lands. It has been his destiny "to labour to get his own living," by exerting the faculties with which nature has endowed him; and by these he hopes to enroll the name of Britton amongst the worthies of his county and country, although he may fail to emblazon it in letters of *gold*. *Black letter* pursuits have rarely led to riches, whereas the counter and the counting-house have frequently, by diligence and prudence, conducted to the Temple of Fortune. The uncle of the Author was an instance; Harding, the founder of Saint Augustine's Monastery, Cannyng, Cabott, Colston, and Whitson, were more distinguished examples. Had the Author of this Volume been apprenticed in Bristol forty-five years ago, as recommended about that time, he is persuaded that he would have been enabled by the same assiduity and zeal which he has exerted in literature to have obtained a seat in the corporation of that respectable city.—He must, however, restrain these pleasingly speculative reveries.

In pursuing the Histories of the several Cathedrals[1], which have successively come under the investigation and review of the Author since the year 1814, he has travelled many thousands of miles, and expended several thousands of pounds. He has likewise had extensive intercourse with public men, and made much research into the history of former generations; has had occasion to examine and analyze the opinions and practices of Catholics and of Protestants,—of men of learning, erudition, and science, and of those who had neither. He has met with some persons who have benefited their fellows whilst living and bequeathed advantages to them after death, and has likewise contemplated the principles and conduct of others, who, by inculcating false doctrines of religion or policy, have inflicted misery on those subject to their influence, and have left names branded with obloquy and contempt. Impartial history is the true mirror to shew the virtues and vices of man. Such are the contrasted characteristics and posthumous distinctions of men who have obtained public notice.

The History of the Catholic Ages presents nearly an uniform series of events, of ceremonies, and pursuits, mostly dependant on, or instrumental to the attainment of power by increasing superstition; whereas, in the succeeding times, under the Protestant dynasties, mental improvement has continued to make regular but slow progresses to the beginning of the present century. Since that epoch the "March of Intellect," as it is now termed, has been rapid and unwearied, and Bristol has contributed to its progress. Its merchants, literati, and men of science, have by their talent and influence co-operated to produce a considerable change in the manners and character of the whole population of that city. At no remote period the Bristolians were stigmatized as mercenary and illiterate: but the impartial inquirer will find a very different character pervade the present inhabitants. This has arisen from a combination of causes, which, springing up in the metropolis, spread their influence to this city and to the more remote towns of Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Plymouth, and other parts. A laudable spirit of rivalry was excited, and still subsists, between the commercial ports of Bristol and Liverpool; and though the younger untrammelled town may surpass the veteran in some acquirements, we shall find that in history, in antiquities, and in the towering fame of some of its sons, the elder must ever be pre-eminent. It will neither be difficult, nor irrelevant in this place, to point out the leading causes of this advance in intellectual ability; for whenever the sources of prosperity or adversity are known, it is reasonable to presume that the one will be encouraged and pursued, whilst the other will be avoided. The collision and dissemination of opinion and knowledge, through the medium of *four weekly News-papers*[2],—

[1] A list of these, and of other works, will be found at the end of this volume.

[2] These are "*Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*;" "*The Bristol Mercury*;" "*The Bristol Mirror*;" and "*The Bristol Gazette*." Of these periodicals the author has had the longest acquaintance with the first, and with Mr. J. M. Gutch, who has been its loyal and public spirited editor for the

the incalculable benefits produced by "*the Bristol Institution*," and its "*Literary and Philosophical Society*,"—the sentiments proclaimed at its public meetings,—the liberal spirit which animates both its clergy and its corporate members,—the encouragement given to art and literature;—and last, in this pleasing catalogue, the concentration of news and general information in its *Commercial Rooms*, are at once the guardians of liberty, liberality, and public good. It is an admitted and much regretted fact, that the dignitaries of the Cathedral establishments keep themselves too much estranged from the laity of their respective cities. In Bristol we find an honourable exception, which it is the duty of the historian to record. The present learned and respected Bishop and Dean, not only spend much of their time and money among the citizens, but take an active interest in such public objects and proceedings as are calculated to improve the moral and temporal welfare of the people.

In the annals of Topographical Literature, there is perhaps no instance of civic liberality and patronage to compare with that evinced by the Corporation of this City, in its subscription of two hundred guineas towards publishing the the Rev. S. Seyer's "Memoirs of Bristol." It is doubly honourable; for it honours the giver and the receiver. In noticing these "Memoirs" the writer of the present volume cannot help expressing sincere regret that the venerable and learned historian of the city should ever have experienced the least jealousy of a brother topographer and antiquary, whose routine of literary engagements led him to investigate and publish the history of the Cathedral of that City; for however diligent and discriminating may be his endeavours to elucidate the arcana of its annals, there will be ample scope for the local historian either to adduce new materials, or give novel views and more vivid inferences from those already published. Talent and judgment stamp their full value on every new coinage.

The list of eminent natives and denizens of Bristol is adorned with names which confer merited distinction and fame on their homes and on the country. Besides the merchants already named we find the following persons are either natives of the city or intimately connected with its annals. Sir William Penn:—Sir Michael Foster:—Sir William Draper:—Sir Thomas Lawrence:—Sir Francis Freeling, Bt.:—Archbishop Matthews:—The Very Rev. Dean Tucker:—The Rev. Dr. Randolph:—The Rev. S. Seyer:

last twenty-five years. For the journal above alluded to, Mr. Gutch wrote a series of letters under the cognomen of "*Cosmo*," which it is believed has produced a powerful impression on the minds of his fellow citizens, and led to many improvements in the port and in other parts of the city. The public press may be considered a sort of mental steam-engine, to move and control a vast weight of indolence and obstinacy, which ten thousand tongues, however variously employed, could not otherwise effect.

Among other great works now proposed and liberally encouraged at Bristol, are a *Rail Road* between that city and Bath; a *College* for public education; and a *Bridge* high above the Avon, at Clifton. The latter work, if successfully executed in stone, from an appropriate design, will rank among the "wonders of the west," and be at once an ornament and honour to the city.

—The Rev. J. Dallaway:—The Rev. J. Eagles:—The Rev. J. Eden:—The Rev. R. Hall:—The Rev. J. Foster:—The Rev. Dr. Carpenter:—Dr. Beddoes:—Dr. Nott:—Dr. Stock:—Dr. Prichard:—Dr. E. L. Fox:—Mary Robinson:—Mrs. H. More:—Mary A. Schimmelpenninch:—John Trenchard:—John Lewis:—Thomas Chatterton:—William Barrett:—Thomas Eagles:—Joseph Cottle:—Robert Southey, LL.D.:—Captain Henry Kater:—C. Jos. Harford:—Edward Bird, R.A.:—E. H. Baily, R.A.:—Samuel Westley:—N. Pocock:—T. E. Bowdich:—Charles A. Elton:—Geo. Cumberland.

However the Author may have had reason to complain of the supercilious conduct of certain officers in two Cathedrals, he has experienced a very different treatment from those at Bristol. Here the worthy and learned Dean and all his associates have been kind and friendly; eager to promote inquiry, and to afford every facility and accommodation to the Author and his Artists. Hence every thing connected with the present volume has been of a pleasing and cheering nature; and whilst he may fairly anticipate some reward for his labours, he feels conscious that he has earnestly endeavoured to deserve it. In the present volume he has far exceeded his promises and engagements to subscribers, by giving one engraving on copper and two on wood, besides above thirty pages of letter-press, beyond his original stipulations and calculation.

It is with feelings of gratitude and pleasure he offers his best acknowledgment to the following gentlemen for co-operation and aid in the execution of this volume. To the very Reverend the Dean he is peculiarly indebted for the communication of much original information:—to G. Weare Braikenridge, Esq; T. Garrard, Esq. Chamberlain; E. Dalton, Esq.; J. M. Gutch, Esq.; the Rev. W. H. Turner; the Rev. Joseph Cross; J. Peace, G. Holmes, J. Norton, W. Tyson, and R. H. Trickey, he also offers very sincere thanks.

To the Committee of the *Literary and Philosophical Society* he is indebted for the flattering distinction of being enrolled amongst its honorary members. Such compliments are rewards for past exertions in the cause of literature and antiquity, and stimuli to further efforts.

To the gentlemen whose names are recorded in the following page, the author avows with pleasure his gratitude: but for their local patronage he must have concluded his "*Cathedral Antiquities*" with the history of Gloucester Cathedral. Thus aided and supported by gentlemen who are partial to such publications, and such subjects, he is willing to devote his exertions and abilities in prosecuting the series to a close; and towards effecting this, has collected materials and drawings to develope the history and illustrate the Architecture of the Cathedrals of Hereford and Worcester, which with Gloucester will include the "*History of the three Choirs.*" (Vide page x.)

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TO BE PUBLISHED IN THE COURSE OF 1830,

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF

Hereford Cathedral Church;

ILLUSTRATED BY A

SERIES OF ENGRAVINGS

OF

GENERAL AND PARTICULAR VIEWS, SECTIONS, ELEVATIONS, AND PLANS.

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PREPARING, TO FOLLOW THE ABOVE WORK,

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF

Worcester Cathedral Church;

TO CORRESPOND IN NUMBER OF ENGRAVINGS, AND ABOUT THE SAME EXTENT OF LETTER-PRESS, WITH THAT OF HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

IN the Architecture, Monuments, and History of Worcester Cathedral, there are great dissimilarities to that of Hereford; hence we shall find that the two volumes will exhibit marked varieties and contrasts. The Crypt, Chapter-house, Cloister, Nave, Choir, Transepts, Presbytery, Royal Monuments, and Chapels, are not only unlike any thing at Hereford, but are all truly interesting to the Architectural Antiquary, Artist, and Historian.

As the Author proposes to visit Worcester in the summer of 1830, to survey the Cathedral, and have drawings made, he will be obliged by the communication of any hints or information on the subject in the mean time.

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THE

History and Antiquities

OF

BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

Chap. I.

HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE FOUNDATION, ESTABLISHMENT, AND DISSOLUTION OF THE ABBEY OF ST. AUGUSTINE, AT BRISTOL; INCLUDING BRIEF NOTICES OF ITS ABBOTS.

Unlike most of the Ecclesiastical Foundations, the histories of which have been investigated and recorded in previous volumes of "The Cathedral Antiquities," the See of Bristol is comparatively of modern origin. As a Cathedral, indeed, its date and history can be fully traced, it having been raised upon the wreck of one of those religious houses which the rapacious Henry the Eighth dissolved, for the conjoined purposes of augmenting the revenues of the crown, and of subjugating the overgrown and misused powers of the Romish Church. The seat of this diocess was originally a Monastery, dedicated to Saint Augustine, which, though under a new appropriation, may be said to have survived the evils that, in the reign of the above monarch, were so generally inflicted on conventual institutions. Instead of being wholly dismembered, and having its property lavished on court favourites, an Episcopal Establishment was founded on its basis: in the place of an Abbot, there was a Bishop appointed; and instead of a Prior, Monks, and Novices, a Dean, Prebendaries, Canons, and other officers were substituted and nominated. A new code of ecclesiastical laws, or ordinances was framed, and the collective body was provided with

incomes from confiscated estates, adequate to their wants, and to the circumstances of society in which they lived.

To render the History of the present See and Church satisfactory, it will be expedient to shew by clear and authentic evidence when and by whom the prior establishment and church of Saint Augustine were first commenced; how and by what means they grew up to maturity, and what those characteristics and events were which peculiarly and indigenously belonged to the Augustine Convent at Bristol, as contra-distinguished from the many other monastic communities in England. This inquiry and disquisition will inevitably lead to many facts and personages intimately connected with the commercial port of Bristol, and will, it is hoped, demonstrate to every one the utility and the interest which result from a careful review of the records of former ages. Such a review, indeed, is the retrospective telescope that brings to the mind's eye, man as he was, and his works, as they were successively produced, to court the gaze and admiration of succeeding generations. In the revolutions of a few hundreds of years, what myriads of the human race, with faculties of rare and brilliant order, have "strutted and fretted" on the stage of life, and "are seen no more;" what numbers of ingenious and exquisite works have they produced, which, with themselves, are mingled with the dust; and but for the labours of the Historian and the Antiquary would be unknown and valueless.

Founded at a time when miracles and the canonization of Saints were of rare occurrence, and soon after which, the barons and "men of estate," to whom the ecclesiastics more immediately looked for protection and the increase of their revenues, were prevented by the Magna Carta and subsequent *Statute of mortmain*[1] from conferring on them landed property, the Monastery of Saint Augustine did not contain within its hallowed precinct any consecrated shrine to seduce pilgrims to make votive offerings, nor had it sufficient influence to obtain for its Abbot the envied gift of the

[1] This statute was passed in the seventh year of the reign of King Edward the First, and was intended to prevent laymen from conferring lands on ecclesiastical bodies to the detriment of the king or of lords paramount, who would thereby lose the feudal services to which they were entitled.

mitre, whereby he would become entitled to a seat in the great councils of the realm.

Although it is clearly ascertained when, and by whom, the Abbey of Saint Augustine was commenced, the genealogy and history of its founder, *Robert Fitz-Harding*, are involved in so much uncertainty, that, amid the conflicting statements of different writers, it is difficult to form a correct opinion upon the subject. He is supposed to have been a descendant of a princely line of Denmark, and was the progenitor of the noble house of Berkeley,—a family so distinguished for their liberality towards this and other monasteries, that, out of their immense possessions, they had but one rectory to which they could present a secular chaplain[2].

A manuscript in Berkeley Castle, the last portion of which was written in the year 1351, probably by Trevisa, vicar of Berkeley, states that Fitz-Harding, the founder of Saint Augustine's Abbey, was "*ex regia prosapiâ Regum Daciæ.*" Other authors assert that he was the *son, the second son,* or *the youngest son* of a King of Denmark, nearly or actually contemporary with William the Conqueror. Trevisa's words however throw back the reported connection to an indefinite distance; *prosapia* does not apply to *pater, avus,* or *proavus;* and the subsequent versions of the story not only differ essentially from his relation, and one another, but from all Danish and Anglo-Saxon authorities of veracity.

Neither do they support a conjecture that he might have been the son of a *nominal* king, for that title had long before his time ceased to be given to any but *territorial* sovereigns, having, or pretending to possess, independent authority. Rollo, Hastings, and other great chieftains of the North, who conducted the barbarous hordes which over-ran the more southern countries of Europe, even after acquiring extensive though nominally subordinate territorial dominion, never adopted the title of King; nor does it appear to have been vaguely given or assumed at any time posterior to the beginning of the eleventh century.

[2] Fuller's Church History, lib. vi. p. 326.—In allusion to their extensive ecclesiastical patronage, the Berkeleys assumed for their crest an abbatial mitre.

A near descent from a Danish king is the less probable, because Harding was not a military person, nor indeed can he be identified as a man of any consequence or authority, even in Bristol, until after the Norman Conquest. *Sawin*, of Clifton, was præpositus of the town, at the time of that event; after which it was held in farm by Geoffry, the military Bishop of Constance, united with one hundred and twelve acres of the adjacent manor of Bedminster, and with numerous and great estates in the neighbourhood, some of which became afterwards the property of Robert Fitz-Harding.

Whatever was his origin, Harding seems to have been employed either by the bishop, or by his nephew Roger de Mowbray, and then or not long after to have been under one of them, præpositus of Bristol, as *Sawin* had previously been. Mowbray succeeded to his uncle's estates, which he afterwards forfeited, as many other Anglo-Normans did, by the unsuccessful attempt made to raise Robert, Duke of Normandy, to the throne of England, in opposition to William Rufus, who was supported by a very great majority of the native English population. Harding certainly adhered to the English party, and in the course of events acquired riches and estates which, with his civil office of provost of Bristol, devolved on his son, *Robert*, the founder of the Monastery of Saint Augustine.

The latter is supposed to have increased his riches by personal exertions, by which means he was enabled to render to Prince Henry, afterwards King Henry the Second, much assistance in the recovery of his crown from the usurper, Stephen. This generosity on the part of Fitz-Harding was gratefully rewarded, and was productive of the most beneficial results to the donor, and to the Abbey which he afterwards founded.

Advanced in years, and probably unable to take an active part in the Crusade, with which the popular attention was then occupied, Fitz-Harding determined to erect a church, "*in honorem Dei, et pro salute animæ suæ.*"

Having purchased from the Earl of Gloucester the manor of *Billeswick*, without the walls of the town of Bristol, he fixed upon a plot of ground which is reported to have covered the remains of Saint Jordan, one of the

disciples of Saint Augustine[3], and commenced, about the year 1142, the foundation of that house which his descendants protected with their powerful influence, enriched by their liberal donations, and honoured by making it their place of sepulture.

Barrett and other authors, without quoting any authority, place the date of the foundation in the year 1140; but Smyth[4] says, "Robert Fitz-Harding began the Abbey when King Henry the Second was only nine years old." That prince was born in 1133; assuming, therefore, that Mr. Smyth's sources of information were authentic, the correct date would be, as already stated, 1142.

The earliest writer who alludes to the establishment of the Abbey is the rhyming chronicler, Robert of Gloucester, in whose words,—

> "A bourgeis at Bristowe, *Roberd Harding*,
> For gret tresour and richesse, so wel was wid the King,
> That he yef (gave) him & is eirs the noble baronie,
> That so riche is, of Berkele, wid al the seignorie.
> And th'ulke (that) Roberd Harding arerde (built) suthe ywis
> The Abbeye at Bristowe, that of Seint Austin is[5]."

Robert Ricart, in a chronicle of Bristol, says, "Now to speak of the foundation of th' abbey of Seynt Austyn's, of Bristowe, beginning first at Harding, son unto the King of Denmark, which dwelled in Bristowe in

[3] Leland, speaking of the Monastery of Saint Augustine, says, "Ibique in magna area sacellum in quo sepultus est S. Jordanus, unus ex discipulis Augustini Anglorum Apostoli." Itinerary, vol. v. fol. 64.—The antient tradition is, that the Abbey was built on the spot where stood *Saint Augustine's oak*. The Chapel of St. Jordan was at a distance from the Abbey, in the College Green; and although its exact site cannot now be ascertained, it appears to have been standing so late as the year 1491–2; when the sacrist of the Abbey accounted for twenty-two pence received as oblations from the box of St. Clement, adjacent to the *Chapel of St. Jordan*, in the Green Place.—Rot. penes Decanum et Capit, Bristol.

[4] Lives of the Berkeley Family, edited by Fosbroke, p. 71.

[5] Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, ed. Hearnei, vol. ii. p. 479.—By the lines above quoted, it might be supposed, that the lordship of Berkeley was conferred on Robert Fitz-Harding previous to the commencement of Saint Augustine's Abbey, whereas the grant was not made until ten years afterwards.

Baldewynne Street: and he had to his son the Lord Robert Hardyng, Lord of Berkeley, and *founder of the Abbey of Seynt Austyns*[6]."

If the year 1142 be admitted as the date of the foundation of the Abbey, the works were far advanced in six years, for according to Leland, "A° 1148, 3. Idus Apr. die videlt Paschæ, fundatio Monaster. S. Augustini Bristoll, et congregatio fratrum ejusdem per Dn̄m Robertum filium Hardingi[7];" or, as he elsewhere expresses it, "Robert Harding (citizen of Bristol) Lord Berkeley, was first founder of the Abbey of Saint Augustine at Bristol, for Canons of the Augustine Order, A°. 1148[8]."

Leland, by the term "*fundatio*," cannot mean the commencement of the building, because in the very same sentence he speaks of the "*congregatio fratrum*." We must therefore infer that in the year 1148 the monastic edifices, including the church, were far advanced, if not completed. This agrees with the statement of Abbot Newland, from whose Register we learn, that in the year last mentioned, the Abbey was consecrated and dedicated by the Bishops of Worcester, Exeter, Landaff, and St. Asaph. At, or about the same time, six Canons of the Monastery of Wigmore were inducted to the new Church; and Richard, one of the number, was appointed Abbot[9]. It has been stated, that amongst other illustrious persons present at the consecration, was the young Prince, Henry[10]; but this must be a mistake; for although it is well ascertained that he was receiving his education at Bristol whilst the buildings were in progress[11], it is equally certain, that in the year 1148 he was with his uncle, Geoffry, in Anjou[12].

Although this prince was not present at the consecration of the new

[6] Ricart's MS. Kalendar, fol. 27, b.—"Robert fitz Harding was born in Bristol towards the end of William the Conqueror's reign, bred up in that Town with Harding, his father, to whose estate he succeeded, and removed from Baldwin Street to a great stone house which he built upon the Frome."—Smyth's Lives of the Berkeley Family, p. 23.

[7] Itinerary, 2d edit. vol. vi. p. 49.

[8] Collectanea, vol. i. p. 85.

[9] Abbot Newland's Roll, preserved in Berkeley Castle.

[10] Barrett's History of Bristol, p. 249.

[11] Chron. Gervasij in decem Scriptores, edit. per Twisden, col. 1358.

[12] Sandford's Genealogical History of the Kings of England, by Stebbing, p. 60.

Church, it is evident that he rendered assistance towards its erection; for Fitz-Harding, in the Charter of endowment, grants to the Canons of Saint Augustine's, "*quorum per auxilium Domini mei Regis Ecclesiam fundavi;*" and Henry himself, in a confirmatory Charter, previously to his accession to the throne, speaks of the Church of Saint Augustine, "*quam inicio juventutis meæ beneficiis et protectione cepi juvare et fovere*[13]."

When, after a protracted struggle with King Stephen, the crown of England was placed upon the head of the young Henry, that monarch in gratitude for the services rendered to himself and to his mother, the Empress Maud, by Fitz-Harding, conferred upon him the forfeited estates of Berkeley, whereby he was enabled to provide a more liberal endowment for the newly founded Abbey[14], in which, after an interval of a few years, he became a Canon, and there died[15].

Richard, the first Abbot, watched over the interest of his house with such jealous care, that he has been accused of ingratitude towards his patron, the first Maurice, Lord Berkeley. That nobleman having occasion to widen the moat round his castle, of Berkeley, trespassed a few feet on the church-yard, which, by the grant of Robert Fitz-Harding, had been conferred on the Abbey of Saint Augustine. Indignant at this infringement of the ecclesiastical rights, the Abbot, in the language of Fuller, "so prosecuted him with church censures, that he made him in a manner cast the dirt of the ditch into his own face:" and not only compelled him to make a public confession of his fault, but to bestow on the Abbey a portion of land, "pro emendatione culpæ suæ[16]." After Abbot Richard's death, in 1186, the abbatial staff was conferred on

Philip, who increased the monastic revenues and obtained from the Earl of Moreton, afterwards King John, a confirmation of all the grants previously made to the Monastery, with many additional liberties and privileges[17]. On his removal to the Abbey of Bellaland, or Byland, in the county of York, in 1196,

[13] Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum, edit. 1661, vol. ii. p. 233.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Leland's Itinerary, 2d edit. vol. vi. p. 43.
[16] Fuller's Church Hist. lib. vi. p. 327.
[17] Monasticon Anglicanum, ut supra.

John, was appointed to succeed him. This was probably the monk of Bristol, who according to Bale wrote a history of his own time. Chatterton seems to have adopted the idea, "that he was a learned man," and has appended his name to one of his own poems "on the mynster[18]." Dying in 1215, he was succeeded by

John, or Joseph, who died, according to some authors, six weeks, and according to others, thirty-one weeks, after his election; when

David was appointed to the Abbatial Chair. Shortly after his election Swalo, the papal legate, held a council at Bristol, wherein he received, on behalf of King Henry the Third, the fealty of such prelates and nobles who were present, and pronounced sentence of excommunication against those who were opposed to him[19]. This council was probably held within the walls of the Abbey; and there is little doubt that the conventual buildings afforded accommodation for many of the ecclesiastics who were assembled. In 1218,

[18] This poem, douhtless by the young and not the old poet, is transcribed from Chatterton's Works, vol. ii. p. 115.

"With daitive steppe Religyon dyghte in greie,
Her face of doleful hue,
Swyfte as a takel (arrow) thro'we bright heav'n tooke her waie,
And ofte and ere anon dyd saie,
Aie! me! what shall I doe;
See Brystoe citie, whyche I nowe doe kenne,
Arysynge to mie view,
Thycke throng'd wythe soldyers and wythe traffyck-menne;
Butte saynctes I seen few.
Fytz-Hardynge rose!—he rose lyke bryghte sonne in thie morne,—
Faire dame adryne thein eyne,
Let alle thie greefe bee myne,
For I wylle rere thee uppe a Mynster hie;
The toppe whereof shall reech ynto the skie;
Ande wyll a Monke be shorne;—
Thenne dyd the dame replie,—
I shall ne be forelourne,
Here wyll I take a cherysaunied reste,
And spend mie daies upon Fytz-Hardynges breste."

[19] Wilkins' Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, vol. i. p. 547.

Abbot David was present at the dedication of the Cathedral Church of Worcester[20], and in the following year, performed the funeral obsequies of Robert, Lord Berkeley, by whose munificence the possessions of the house had been much enlarged[21]. Upon his resignation of office, in 1234,

William de Bradestan, the Prior of the house, and a native of Winterbourne, in Gloucestershire, succeeded. He received the benediction at Worcester, and according to the annals of that city, "compounded with the sacrist for his alb and cope, and gave to the convent 40s.[22]". In 1234, the Mayor and Commonalty of Bristol purchased from the Convent, for nine marks of silver, sufficient land in Saint Augustine's Marsh for making a new *quay*, or *trench*[23]; and in the following year, the Abbot and brethren commenced the *Church of Saint Augustine the Less*, for the accommodation of persons dwelling within the precinct of the Abbey, whose communication with the town was about to be interrupted by the new trench[24]. Two years afterwards, the Abbey was visited by Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, when, owing to the lax state of discipline amongst the members of the house, it was found necessary to remove the prior and some other officers. Abbot Bradestan also appears to have been remiss in the execution of his duty, for he tendered his resignation at the same time[25]; and

William Long, "the Chamberlain of Keynesham," was appointed in his stead. He also received the benediction at Worcester, and made the customary donation to the convent of that city[26]. During his abbacy there arose a dispute between the Canons of St. Augustine's and the brethren of Saint Mark's Hospital, respecting the right of burial in College-Green, and other privileges, which the former claimed as exclusively their own. The Bishop of Worcester decided that the brethren should inter their dead there, on condition of keeping the ground level, "on account of the pleasantness of the place; that neither party should have common of pasture

[20] Annales Wigorniæ in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 484.
[21] Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 352. [22] Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 489.
[23] Barrett's History of Bristol, p. 61, from original deed.
[24] Evans's Chronological Outline of the History of Bristol, p. 59.
[25] Barrett's History of Bristol, p. 261, ex Reg. Cantilupi Epis. Wigorn.
[26] Annales Wigorniæ in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 491.

there; but that the Abbot might mow the same, and strew the grass in his churches of Saint Augustine the Greater and the Less [27]." Abbot Long died in 1264, and was succeeded by

Richard de Malmesbury, who presided over the Abbey about twelve years, and dying in 1276, was succeeded by

John de Marina, under whose mis-government the house became so much disordered both in spiritual and temporal matters, that at the visitation of the Bishop of Worcester, in 1278, it is stated to have been "dammabiliter prolapsam." It was therefore ordained that for the future the Canons should not, "as bees, fly out of the choir as soon as service was ended, as vagrants and vagabonds, but devoutly wait as became holy and settled persons." The Abbot not being sufficiently learned to propound the word of God in common, other persons were appointed to perform his duties. Ordinances were made for the punishment of offenders, for the regulation of the refectory and infirmary, and the episcopal malediction was pronounced against such as should feign themselves sick, thereby "to live a dissolute life" and fraudulently to despise God's worship. No secular persons were to be permitted to enter the infirmary, except the physician and servants; nor were the brethren, who were in good health, to congregate there "for the sake of drinking and surfeiting." The Canons were also commanded to refrain "from detraction and obscene speech;" and to use only edifying language. The Abbot was admonished to reprove offenders in private, and not to allow his servants and clerks to dine in their own chambers, as they had previously been accustomed to do.

It was also provided that the Abbot should have only two receivers, to keep a distinct account of their receipts and disbursements, and should appoint one of the brethren to keep the garner, to superintend the delivery of the corn from the abbatial manors, and to see that those persons who had the custody of the same, and of the bread and beer, discharged their duties faithfully. The servants were all to be sworn to the strict fulfilment of their respective duties; and their accounts were to be audited every year by four examiners appointed by the Convent.

[27] Barrett's History of Bristol, p. 346, from original deed.

The Abbot was recommended to dismiss useless retainers, and to keep "a moderate family, as his predecessor, William, had done:"—i. e. only two chaplains, and two or three esquires (scutiferos);—when he went on a journey, he was to provide every thing requisite in the Abbey during his absence; to abstain from giving "splendid entertainments" out of the house, as he had been previously accustomed to give; to dismiss the keeper of the granary, the seller of corn, and the porter; and to take precautions that nothing should be found amiss at the next visitation[28].

These salutary provisions of the Bishop of Worcester did not, however, produce the beneficial results required; for it appears that during the illness of the Abbot, two years afterwards, the Canons were living in open defiance of the rules of their house, and were consequently threatened with ecclesiastical censures[29].

On a subsequent visitation by the Bishop, in 1282, when he was lodged in the Abbey, all was found to be well, "*tam in capite quam in membris*," except that the house was injured by the non-residence of the Abbot, and burthened with a debt of three hundred pounds, because Sir Bogo de Clare had that year disseised them of a church worth a hundred and fifty pounds yearly[30].

But whatever diminution of revenue the Convent might have sustained by Sir Bogo, the monks were amply compensated for their loss by the bequest of *Maurice, Lord Berkeley,* who in the same year was interred in their church[31]. In 1283, King Edward, after his expedition into Wales, spent his Christmas at Bristol, and enriched its Abbey by gifts, and also induced his retainers to make presents[32]. Abbot Marina died three years afterwards, and his successor,

Hugh de Dodington, received the royal assent to his election about the commencement of the year 1287[33]. The events connected with the house during his abbacy and that of his successor,

James Barry, are equally devoid of interest. It is, however, related in

[28] Barrett's Hist. of Bristol, p. 261, 262, ex Reg. Giffard, Epis. Wigorn.
[29] Ibid p. 263. [30] Ibid. [31] Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 353.
[32] MS. Kalendar, penes Mr. Alderman Haythorne. [33] Rot. Pat. A°. 15 Edw. I.

the annals of Worcester, that in 1299, as the latter was going to his country house, at Almondsbury, he was beset by many known knights *(milites noti)*, who robbed him, and murdered his steward, "*propter veritatem*[34]." He died in 1306, and was succeeded by

Edmund Knowle[35], who is celebrated as having begun the re-building of his Church, of which more will be related hereafter. Ten years after his promotion to the Abbacy, he procured from the king, by the aid of the third Maurice, Lord Berkeley, a confirmation of all grants which had been previously made to his house[36]: but although successful in promoting the temporal interest of the Abbey, he was not equally fortunate in maintaining a due observance of the monastic rules amongst the brethren; for at the time of the Bishop of Worcester's visitation, in 1320, many irregularities were noticed. The hounds, of which the Canons kept a great number, were ordered to be removed; the almoner was displaced; and inquiries were instituted into the characters of two of the members, one of whom was accused of incontinence, and the other of causing dissension in the house. Orders were also given for making better provision for the sick, for the regular celebration of mass, and for the distribution of certain monies. William Barry was at the same time absolved from a sentence of excommunication, which he had incurred by apostasy: his penance of drinking water only on Wednesdays was remitted, and he was allowed to drink beer and to eat pulse, but fish was forbidden[37]. When Maurice, Lord Berkeley took part in the rebellion against that imbecile monarch, Edward the Second, he intrusted to Abbot Knowle, his evidences, and much personal property. Amongst the latter were "two coffers of ivory, plated with silver, gilt with gold; eighteen garnish of silver vessels, a viol of pretious oyl, a piece of the wood of the holy cross, divers pearls, emeraudes, rubyes and sapphires, a paire of *pater nosters* of great pearl, two crosses of gold, one book of the Law, called Breton, the Legend of Saints, and divers others of great

[34] Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 524.

[35] Rot. Pat. 35 Edw. I.

[36] Monasticon Anglicanum, ed. 1661, vol. ii. p. 233.

[37] Barrett's Hist. of Bristol, p. 263, ex Reg. Cobham Epis. Wigorn.

value[38]." This Abbot has been reproached with disloyalty, for having refused to receive the corpse of his murdered sovereign, for interment: but it is probable that such refusal was made by the advice, or rather by the command, of his patron, the second Thomas, Lord Berkeley; who is said to have given to the Canons of Saint Augustine's, plate, copes, and other ornaments, to the value of thirty-two pounds, three shillings, and four pence[39]. Knowle, one of the most meritorious Abbots that ever presided over the Abbey of Saint Augustine, died in June, 1332; and in July, the same year, the episcopal benediction was conferred on

John Snow[40], who was the first and only Abbot of this Monastery that ever attended Parliament. In the year after his promotion to the abbatial dignity, he granted permission to the fraternity of the Kalendaries to rebuild, and enlarge their house towards Corn Street[41]; and there is reason to believe that he promoted the new works of the Abbey which had been commenced by his predecessor. His death occurred in July, 1341[42]; and his successor,

Ralph Asshe, was confirmed in the following month[43]. His attendance in Parliament being inconvenient to himself, and burthensome to the revenues of the Abbey, he petitioned for, and obtained exemption, "because he held not by barony, nor was his Abbey of royal foundation[44]." During his abbacy, Bristol was visited by a plague, which so depopulated the town that the grass grew in the streets, and the members of the monastic establishment were so reduced in number that very few survived, who, according to the canonical laws, were old enough to officiate as priests[45]. Dying in 1352,

[38] Smyth's Lives of the Berkeley Family, by Fosbroke, p. 117.

[39] Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 354, from Abb. Newland's Roll.—A particular account of the murder of Edward the Second, his interment, and splendid monument, with a beautifully engraved view of the latter, are given in the Author's "*History and Antiquities of Gloucester Cathedral.*"

[40] Willis's Mitred Abbies, vol. i. p. 228, ex Regist. Cobham Epis. Wigorn.

[41] Evans's Chronological Outline of the Hist. of Bristol, p. 84.

[42] It is a singular fact that, with the exception of Fitz-Harding, the founder, Eva his wife, and Robert, Lord Berkeley, Abbot Snow was the only person annually commemorated as a benefactor to the Abbey.

[43] Willis's Mitred Abbies, vol. i. p. 228, ex Coll. Cl. Whartoni.

[44] Rot. Pat. 15 Edw. III. p. 1, m. 13. [45] Docum. in the Lib. of Phil. and Lit. Soc. Bristol.

a dispute arose respecting the election of the succeeding Abbot; and it was not until the following year, that

William Coke, the sub-prior of the house, "a religious man, professing the rule of Saint Augustine and the order of Canons Regular, instituted in the said Monastery, honest, of a lawful age, above thirty, in the order of priesthood, and born in lawful wedlock, was declared duly elected[46]." In 1361, owing to the turbulent state of Ireland, the king summoned all persons who held lands in that island to appear before him in council; and although the Convent of Saint Augustine had no possessions there, a writ of summons was directed to its Abbot, who was commanded to equip his retainers for a foreign expedition[47]. Two years afterwards, he obtained from Pope Urban, on account of the plague which had occurred in the time of his predecessor, authority to permit the Canons of Saint Augustine's Abbey, *pro tempore*, to be ordained priests at the age of twenty-two[48]. In 1363, he resigned in favour of

Henry Shellingford, or Blebery, whose conduct differed so much from that of the preceding Abbot, that in 1371, the king found it necessary to issue a mandate to the Bishop of Worcester, commanding him to visit the Monastery of Saint Augustine in Bristol, because Henry, the Abbot of the same, had, by incurring excessive expenses, so wasted the revenues, that divine service was almost at an end, alms giving had ceased, and that unless timely precautions were taken, the Canons would be all dispersed[49]. In consequence of this letter, the Bishop visited the Abbey; and after his decease, in 1374, the Prior of Worcester issued various ordinances for its government. It was provided, amongst other things, that alms should be given according to the possessions of the house; that relief should be afforded to the sick members, and that they should have better food than the rest; that seven Canons, deputed by the Abbot, should have the custody of the conventual seal: provision was also made for the support of

[46] Barrett's History of Bristol, p. 259, from Reg. Wygorn. Lynn. fol. 48.

[47] Prynne, on the 4th Institute, p. 297.

[48] Document in the Vatican, copies of which were obtained and presented by B. H. Bright, Esq. to the Philosophical and Literary Society of Bristol.

[49] Barrett's History of Bristol, p. 263, from Reg. Wygorn, Lynn, fol. 48.

the secular clerks of *Saint Mary's Chapel*[50]; the sacrist was to provide, at his own expense, wax lights for the said chapel and church; and the chamberlain was to make a like provision for the dormitory. Five Canons were to be elected to give advice to the Abbot in all matters relative to the temporal government of the house; and under them, collectors and receivers were to be appointed. Provision, at the same time, was made for the regulation of the Infirmary and the Refectory: in the former, the bedding was to be repaired and properly kept; in the latter, the bread and beer were to be better made, and a more sufficient quantity allowed; two kinds of flesh and fish were to be provided; and on Sundays the Canons were to be served with fresh fish[51].

John Cerney was appointed Abbot in 1388, and five years afterwards, he was succeeded by

John Daubeney, who appears to have conducted the affairs of the house with order and skill; for during the thirty-five years he presided over it, no complaint of mis-management was made. His successor,

Walter Newbury, was not equally fortunate; for the refractory Canons expelled him from his office, and appointed in his stead

Thomas Sutton, one of their own body, who officiated as Abbot upwards of five years: but having wasted the revenues, and incurred the displeasure of the members, he was, in turn, dispossessed of his undeserved dignity, and Newbury resumed his official duties.

By the deed of restitution it appears that, when deprived of the abbacy, Newbury had presided over the affairs of the house with credit to himself and with advantage to the members, upwards of twenty-five years; and that after his expulsion he had languished long in captivity, and only gained his liberty and re-instatement to his former dignity through the interposition of the Archbishop of Canterbury. His enemy and rival, Sutton, appealed to the Pope, but without effect; for in 1463 the Archbishop's sentence was confirmed; high eulogiums were passed upon Abbot Newbury's character and conduct, and ecclesiastical censures were denounced against those who

[50] Rot. penes Decanum et Capit. Bristol.

[51] Barrett's History of Bristol, 265; from Reg. Wygorn. sed vacante, fol. 197.

should molest him[52]. Newbury was a great benefactor to the Abbey: and, amongst other improvements, built the manor-houses of Fifhead, in Dorsetshire, and of Almondsbury, and Ashelworth, in Gloucestershire. Dying in 1473, at which time the Convent was indebted to him one hundred and forty-nine pounds, five shillings, and ten pence, he was succeeded by

William Hunt[53], under whose superintendence the Abbey Church underwent considerable repairs, and to whose liberality the Monastery was indebted for certain silver and gilt vessels, and for jewels of value[54]. In 1474, Bristol was visited by King Edward the Fourth, who was lodged in the Abbey, and, whilst dwelling there, "got much money by way of *benevolence* of the townsmen and dwellers neere to it, to helpe him in his warrs which he had in hand[55]." Hunt died in March, 1481, and in the following month

John Newland, or Nail-heart[56], a native of Newland, in the Forest of Dean, was elected Abbot. He is said to have been a man of abilities, and was several times employed by King Henry the Seventh in foreign embassies[57]. In beautifying and repairing the Abbey Church he expended much money[58], and rendered great assistance towards rebuilding the Church of Saint Augustine the Less[59]. During his abbacy he compiled a register of the most remarkable events relative to the Abbey, and to the family of its founder, from the reign of King Henry the Second, to the seventh year of

[52] Docum. in the Lib. of Phil. and Lit. Soc. Bristol.

[53] Barrett's Hist. of Bristol, p. 268, from Reg. Wygorn. [54] Ibid. p. 265.

[55] MS. Kalendar, penes Mr. Alderman Haythorne.—King Edward having called before him, amongst others, an old rich widow, merrily asked what she would willingly give him towards his great charges? "By my troth (quoth she) for thy lovely countenance, thou shalt have even twenty pounds." The king, not expecting half that sum, thanked her, and lovingly kissed her; which so wrought with the old widow, that she presently swore he should have twenty pounds more, and paid it willingly.—Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle.

[56] The latter appellation has probably been attributed to this Abbot from the circumstance of his having assumed for his device, a *Heart* pierced with *Nails*, in like manner as Abbot Burton adopted a *Burr* and a *Ton*, as a sort of rebus on his name. It was then fashionable to have punning armorial bearings; as Bolton, Islip, and many others.

[57] Willis's Mitred Abbies, vol. i. p. 128.

[58] Wood's Fasti Oxonienses, edit. 1815, vol. i. p. 10.—In the year 1481 the Abbey owed him £242. 19*s.* 8½*d.*; but how that sum had been expended we are uninformed.—Rot. penes Decanum et Capit. Bristol.

[59] Evans' Chronological Outline of the History of Bristol, p. 115.

King Henry the Seventh. This is now preserved in Berkeley Castle, and has been frequently alluded to, in the preceding pages.

In 1486, Bristol was visited by King Henry the Seventh, who, according to some authorities, "lodged at Saint Augustine's Abbey:" but, as stated by others, "held his court in the Great House, on Saint Augustine's Back." He certainly went to the Abbey on his first arrival, as is evident by the following extract from a manuscript in the Cottonian Library:—"And then the King proceded towarde the Abbey of Seint Austeyns, and by the way, ther was a baker's wiff cast oute of a wyndow a great quantite of whete, crying, 'Welcome, and good look;' &c. Within Seint Austein's Chirche th' Abbot and his Convent receyved the King with Procession, as accustumed. And on the morne when the King had dynede, he roode on Pilgremage to Seint Annes in the Wodde. And on the Thursday nexte folowing, whiche was Corpus Christi day, the King went in procession aboute the great Grene, ther callede *the Sanctuary*, whither came al the processions of the Towne also; and the Bishop of Worcestre prechide in the pulpit[60] in the midds of the forsaide Grene, in a great audience of the Meyre, and the substance of all the Burgesse of the Towne, and their wiffs, with much other people of the countrey[61]."

A roll, or series of accounts of the monastic officers of Saint Augustine's Abbey, commencing in 1491, and ending in 1492, is still extant amongst the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Bristol. From these we obtain many interesting particulars relative to the affairs of the house, some of them equally applicable to the government of preceding Abbots as to that of Newland. The monastic establishment, exclusive of servants, and of the Abbot, who was also the Treasurer and Cellarer, consisted then of seventeen persons; namely, John Martyn, the Prior, who was also "Collector Denariorum Gratiæ, Sacrista, et Magister Novi Operis;" Thomas Greene, "Sub-prior" and "Camerarius;" Henry Griffiths, who died during the year, "Canonicus et Presbyter;" Henry Brugges, "Collector Redituum Villæ Bristolliæ," and also "Collector reditus Anniversarii et Elemosynarius,

[60] Probably a stone cross or pulpit, similar to that at Hereford.

[61] Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 201.

Canonicus et Presbyter;" John Dinham, Thomas Clerke, "Refectorarius;" William Hobbes, "Custos Infirmarii;" William Crekelade, "Custodiens Officium Præcentoris;" and Robert Elyot, "Coquinarius et Hostillarius." The five last are all described as "Canonici et Presbyteri;" the remaining eight were "Novitiati."

The total amount of the monastic revenues at that time was 747*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.* the outgoings 79*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*, leaving a clear balance of 667*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.* The annual expenditure of the Convent was then 488*l.* 10*s.* 4½*d.*; the Canons were thus enabled to save, for occasional expenses, 178*l.* 15*s.* 0½*d.* yearly.

Henry Brugges, the *Collector of the rents* in the town of Bristol, accounted for 33*s.* which had been expended in bread and wine for the use of the Abbot and Canons, on the anniversary of Robert Harding, including a distribution made to the poor, at that time; and 23*s.* for similar expenses incurred on the anniversary of Robert, Lord of Berkeley. He also charges in his account, 7*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* for bread, ale, flesh, and other victuals for the diet of William Clerk, singing-man, Richard Hawkyns, under singing-man, three boys belonging to the Chapel of the blessed Virgin-Mary, and one alms-man, supported at their table by the charity of the Abbot and Convent. Abbot Newland, as *Cellarer* of the Abbey, acknowledged to have received for four hundred and sixty quarters of malt, the property of the Convent, 96*l.* 15*s.* Amongst his disbursements, were payments for the carriage of grain from Clevedon (Clifton) by the Severn, to Saint Augustine's Back, from Tickenham to the abbatial granary, and of faggots from Leigh-wood to the malt-house. To the malster of the Convent he paid 40*s.*, and to his assistant, at 10*d.* per week, 3*s.* 4*d.*

The total sum expended by Robert Elyot, *the Purveyor of the kitchen*, for beef, veal, pork, salt and fresh fish, and for other provisions, was 62*l.* 19*s.* 6½*d.* A second account of the *Collector of the rents*, enumerates payments made for the purchase of red wine for the Abbot and seventeen Canons (all named) for twenty-nine principal and double festivals; (specified) one pottle for the Abbot, and one quartern for each Canon;—for similar wine bought for the use of the Abbot and his Convent, on the eve of the Nativity and Easter: two flagons for each, "according to laudable and antient custom." The

same officer states, that by reason of the introduction of the *new* Festival of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary, it had been agreed by the Abbot and Convent that each Canon should receive yearly, for the celebration of the same, one pottle of wine, worth 4*d.* He also charges 16*s.* for one thousand and seventeen herrings, distributed to the poor on the anniversaries of Robert Harding, the founder, and of the Lady Eva, his wife, and at other seasons[62];—to John Griffith, Vicar of the Church of Saint Augustine the Less, for his diet for half a year, 13*s.* 4*d.*; and a similar sum to the same person for teaching the junior Canons and other boys "in the Grammar School within the Abbey[63]."

From the *Vestiary's* account it appears to have been customary for the Abbot and Convent to receive money instead of clothes. The receipts of the *Sacrist* shew, that they derived profits from persons making ropes "in the sanctuary, called the Green Place[64];" from the oblations made at the pyxes before certain images in Saint Augustine's Abbey[65]; and from

[62] It is worthy of notice that in the original the word *Filius* is omitted in the name of Robert Hardynge, and that Eva his wife is called *Domina.* Query? Was she so styled as being of higher rank than her husband? The term "Domina," the lady, was not in former times so limited as it now is.

[63] In this and most other monastic institutions, the *Novices*, here called also, *junior canons*, were admitted at an early age; and it appears from an entry in a subsequent roll, that one of them was usually assisted, if not wholly supported at Oxford, at the cost of the Abbey, no doubt for the subsequent part of his education. This was adopted in imitation of the antient monasteries in England and elsewhere, which in those times were intended to be, and in fact were almost the only places for superior education.

[64] The space now called the *College Green* is in all antient documents termed the *viridis placea*, and was formerly a little more extensive on the western side than at present. A rope walk on it, extended from east to west, and on the ground where seven houses now stand between the Cathedral and St. Augustine's Church-yard, was an enclosure called the *Masonry*, for which the sacrist received the rent. This Masonry (which will be again alluded to in a subsequent page) was afterwards leased for dwellings, which, about a century ago, were replaced by the present houses, those nearest to the Cathedral being removed as a nuisance, and the space whereon they stood being converted into an avenue, leading into a new street called Trinity Street, built on the antient garden of the Convent.

[65] The words of the roll are,—"Et de 8*s.* 4*d.* receptis de oblationibus de pyxidibus coram diversis imaginibus infra ecclesiam Monasterii S^ci^ Augustini, videlicet, Sancti Augustini juxta secundum altare 8*d.*;—Beatæ Mariæ juxta ostium boriale, 4*d.*;—Sanctæ Crucis, 7*s.* 4*d.*;—

persons taking refuge in the sanctuary[66]. From Abbot Newland's account, as *Treasurer*, we learn that the retaining fees of counsel, and other law expenses, amounted to 40*l.*; and that nearly 3*l.* had been given in the course of the year, to gentlemen, and to the minstrels of the "Kings and Lords," who had visited the Abbey. Who these royal and noble visitors were, we are uninformed.

In 1493, the Bishop of Worcester visited Bristol, and resided at the Gaunt's Hospital instead of the Abbey, as had been previously customary. From this circumstance, and there being no accounts extant excepting for the preceding year, which were probably made up at this visitation, it may be inferred that irregularities then prevailed, as on former occasions. Amongst other regulations, the Bishop then directed the sequestration of the revenues which the Canons derived from the Church of All Saints, in consequence of neglecting to keep the chancel of that church in repair[67]. About the same time a dispute arose between the Convent and the Mayor and Council of Bristol; the former alledging that the civic officers had infringed the

Apolloniæ, nil;—Antonii, nil;—Sancti Erasmi, nil. Et de 22*d.* receptis de hujusmodi oblationibus provenientibus de pyxide S^ci^ Clementis juxta Capellam S^ci^ Jordani in viridi placea ibidem." These sums serve to demonstrate the various degrees of estimation in which the respective saints and their altars were held.

[66] During the year 1491–2, twelve persons claimed sanctuary, of whom each paid four pence for the insertion of his name in the sacrist's book.—William of Worcester describes the extent of the sanctuary with sufficient accuracy, and it evidently included nearly the whole of the present College Green. Saint Jordan's Chapel, and Saint Clement's Shrine, must have been within the sanctuary, and detached from the church, because the oblations (as in the preceding note) are separately accounted for.

[67] Document penes Mr. William Tyson.—A MS. in the possession of the same gentleman contains the following passage, relative to the transaction:—" Md. y^e^. x day of April anno dñi 1494 mast^r^ John Hawley, Thoms Snygge, & John Baten for y^e^ substans of y^e^ pysche hath receuyd of John Thomas Vycar of *Allhalon* for y^e^ pencyon of xls. concernyng vnto my lord y^e^ Abbott of Seynt Austyn & h^s^. Cōvent y^t^. was seqwestred yn yeyr honds by my lord Morton Bysschopp of Worcester yn y^e^. house of y^e^. Gaunts yn the tyme of h^s^. Vysytacyon y^t^. ys to sey y^e^. xvi day of the moneth of July anno dñi 1493° y^t^. is to sey a pares pece pcell gulte weyeng xiij unces y^e^. whyche was payeabyll at y^e^ fest of Seynt Androwe last past y^t^ ys to sey y^e^ last day of Novēbr."—In another passage it is stated, that, in 1518, " mi lord the Abbott of Seynt Austens at hys owu cost and charge did repaire the roffe of the Cheancell and the gutters of the same church as well in tyling as in sowdring."

sanctuary of the Abbey; had prevented the burgesses from selling provisions to the Canons; from grinding corn at their mill, called Trin-Mill (a source of great profit to the Convent); had impeded the course of justice on behalf of the Abbot, and had neglected to repair the banks of the Frome, adjoining to the abbatial lands[68]. The affair was however compromised in 1496, by the Lord Chief Justice, and the Lord Chancellor.

Newland acquired such popularity by strict attendance to religious duties, and by charitable deeds, that after his death, in 1515, he was styled the *Good Abbot*. His successor was

Robert Elyot, whose name is omitted in Willis's list. He is also said to have contributed towards the erection of the Church of Saint Augustine the Less; and as his arms appear upon the Abbey gate-house, it is probable that the upper part of it was built by him, or during his abbacy. In 1523, Maurice, Lord Berkeley, the sixth of his name, died at Calais, and by his Will bequeathed to this Monastery, "his best pair of vestments with all his furniture, and xx li. in money, one gilt cross with all the relics enclosed therein, all his best gilt cosets, one pair of white vestments with all their furniture, and his best pair of black vestments, with his best missal, and a good chalice[69]." Abbot Elyot died in 1526, and was succeeded by

John Somerset. During his Abbacy, according to one of the annalists of Bristol (although the passage appears to bear reference to the government of Abbot Newland), the dissensions which had previously occurred between the Canons of Saint Augustine's and the towns-people of Bristol were again renewed. It appears that two choristers of the Abbey having refused to pay the "king's silver," distresses were levied upon them by the collectors, who took from the one "a pottinger," and from the other a "brasse panne or ketell." The Abbot, espousing the cause of his dependants, arrested the municipal officers who exercised their functions within his jurisdiction: the Mayor and Commonalty retaliated, and imprisoned the retainers of the Convent. The Abbot "with a ryotous company" then attempted to force the prison wherein his men were confined; but was

[68] Barrett's Hist. of Bristol, p. 69, from the Great White Book in Dom. Concil. asservat.

[69] Barrett's History of Bristol, p. 256, from the original Will.

repulsed. After upwards of one thousand pounds had been expended in legal proceedings, the dispute was referred to arbitrators; who decided that the choristers should pay their taxes, that each party should release their prisoners, that the Mayor and Council should attend divine service in the College as usual, and that the Abbot and his successors, "in token of submission for their contempt," should thenceforth, upon every Easter Day in the afternoon, and Easter Monday in the forenoon, meet, or wait for them at the door of the Grammar School at Froom Gate, and accompany them to the College[70]. Abbot Somerset died in 1533; when

William Burton was elected. Archbishop Cranmer visited Bristol in the same year, and "tarried there nineteen daies, reforming of many thinges that were amisse, and preached at St. Augustine's Abbey, and other places[71]." This visit was in consequence of Latimer's preaching, which was most vehemently opposed by the Secretary, Cromwell, and of course by the monastic establishments. Abbot Burton was therefore deputed, in conjunction with other commissioners, to inquire into and report upon the influence which the discourses of that divine had upon the minds of the inhabitants of Bristol[72]. But notwithstanding the opposition made by him to the reformed doctrines, he was, with seventeen other members of this house, compelled to subscribe to the king's supremacy. There are, as we shall have occasion to notice, parts of the interior of the present Cathedral that were built by this Abbot. After his death, in 1537,

Morgan Guilliam ap Guilliam was appointed, who, being charged with incontinence and other crimes[73], was two years afterwards compelled to surrender the Abbey to the king; when the annual revenues amounted to 767*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* according to Speed; or, as stated by Dugdale, 670*l.* 13*s.* 11*d.* The former gives the total revenue, the latter deducts the reprises, or outgoings[74]. Abbot Guilliam was allowed a pension of eighty pounds, and other pensions were allotted to the Prior, and to ten of the Canons.

[70] MS. Kalender, penes Mr. Wm. Tyson.
[71] Bristol Memorialist, p. 40.
[72] Cott. MS. Brit. Mus. Cleop. E. iv. n. 38.
[73] Fuller's Church History, lib. vi. p. 328.
[74] Vide antea, p. 18.

Chap. II.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SEE OF BRISTOL;—ITS EXTENT, JURISDICTION, ETC.;—WITH BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS OF THE BISHOPS.

When King Henry the Eighth, to appease the clamours which had been raised against the dissolution of religious houses, and to shew that he sought rather to forward the grand work of the Reformation and to simplify public worship, than to replenish his own coffers, determined to endow, out of the immense revenues of the dissolved Monasteries, six new Cathedrals, Bristol being an antient town, with a large population, was deemed a fit place to be the seat of one of these bishopricks. The Conventual Church of Saint Augustine's Abbey, with its appendant buildings, was consequently appropriated to the use of the new establishment; and having been re-dedicated to the *Holy Trinity*, was converted into a Cathedral.

The preamble to the Foundation Charter, dated the 4th of June, 1542, is similar to that already alluded to in the author's recent volume on Gloucester Cathedral. By this, it was ordained that the new establishment should consist of one Dean, six Canons, six minor Canons, one of whom was to be the Sacrist, one Deacon, six Lay-Clerks, one Master of the Choristers, two Masters of the Grammar School, four Almsmen, one Sub-sacrist (or Sexton), one Porter and Verger, one Butler, and two Cooks. The places of the three latter have long since been suppressed.

The Diocess of Bristol was chiefly taken out of that of Salisbury, by the annexation of the county and archdeaconry of Dorset; partly out of that of Worcester, by separating several parishes in Gloucestershire, some of which were within the city of Bristol; and three other churches, or chapels, also in Bristol, which belonged to the diocess of Bath and Wells. The first Bishop preferred to this new See was

Paul Bush, a native of Somersetshire. He became a member of the University of Oxford about the year 1513, and five years afterwards, being

then esteemed a man of learning, obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts. He subsequently entered the Friary of the *Bon-hommes*, now Wadham College, in Oxford[1]; where, being alike distinguished for his theological knowledge and his medical skill, he was appointed provincial of his order in the Priory of Edington, in Wiltshire[2]. Whilst in that house he wrote "a lytell boke, contaynyng," as stated in the title-page, "certayne gostly medycynes necessary to be used among wel-disposed people to eschewe and to avoyde the comen plage of pestilens[3]." In this treatise he is styled "syr Paule Bushe, preste and bone-home in the good house of Edyngdon." He has been described as "a wise and grave man, well versed both in divinity and physic, and not only a good orator, but an excellent poet[4]." These qualifications, together with his ready compliance to surrender his Monastery, are supposed to have ingratiated him with Henry the Eighth, who appointed him his Chaplain, a Canon residentiary of Salisbury, and Bishop of Bristol. He had restitution of the temporalities by the title of "capellanus regis, et S. Theologiæ bacalaureus," on the 16th of June, 1542[5], and was consecrated in the parish church of Hampton, in the county of Middlesex, on the 25th of the same month[6]. Bale and Pits erroneously ascribe his preferment to King Edward the Sixth; the latter adds that the chief reason of his being made a bishop was the scarcity of learned men amongst the reformers, and that he was therefore chosen although of an adverse creed[7]. By marrying, he incurred the displeasure of Queen Mary, and to avoid being expelled, resigned his bishoprick: but he does not appear to have been deprived of it, as some authors have stated. He subsequently retired to Winterbourne, near Bristol, where he died. He wrote and published some trivial works; one of which, dedicated to the Princess Mary, is intituled

[1] Wood's Athenæ Oxoniensis, by Bliss, vol. i. col. 270.

[2] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiv. p. 638. Beauties of Wiltshire, vol. iii.

[3] This little "boke," consists of prayers, or conjurations against the plague; and at the end are some stanzas addressed to the reader.

[4] Cole's MSS. in the British Museum, vol. x. p. 76.

[5] Rot. Pat. 34 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

[6] Strype's Memoirs of Archbishop Cranmer, lib. i. c. 24.

[7] Jo. Pitseus in libro De illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, æt. 16, No. 997.

"A lytell treatyse in Englysshe, called the extirpacion of ignorancy; and it treateth and speketh of the ignorance of people, shewyng them howe they are bounde to feare God, and to honour their prince[8]." There is a monument in the north aile of the church, with the statue of an emaciated figure, said to be raised over the grave of this Bishop.

John Holyman, the succeeding Prelate, was born at Caddington, in Bedfordshire, and after receiving his education at Winchester School, became a Fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1512. There he took a degree in the Canon Law, and subsequently proceeded A. M. and B. D. He afterwards assumed the cowl in the Abbey of Saint Mary, at Reading[9]. Acquiring great reputation for learning and sanctity, he wrote to the University of Oxford, in 1530, praying to be excused from preaching in that city, for the degree of D.D., being desirous rather to address the inhabitants of London, to convert them from Lutheranism[10]. When the subject of the king's divorce was discussed by the churchmen, most of whom were in favour of the measure, Holyman not only preached against it, but in a tract, entitled "Defensio Matrimonii Reginæ Catharinæ cum rege Henrico Octavo," strongly urged the validity of the marriage, and the illegality of a separation[11]. This conduct was a barrier to ecclesiastical preferment; and we find that he settled at his rectory of Hanborough, near Woodstock. When the Princess Mary ascended the throne, Holyman was once more called into active life: his former opposition to the advocates of the reformed doctrines was remembered, and the See of Bristol, then vacated by Paul Bush, was conferred upon him[12]. Although a zealous Catholic, he appears to have fulfilled the duties of his station with credit to himself and with benefit to his diocesans. "He did not," says Fuller, "for ought I can finde, prophane himself with any barbarous cruelty: but Mr. Dalby, his Chancellour, (as an active lieutenant to a dull captain), sent three, namely, Richard Sharpe, Thomas Benton, and Thomas Hale, to

[8] Wood's Athenæ Oxoniensis by Bliss, vol. i. col. 271. [9] Ibid. col. 275.

[10] Gutch's History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford, vol. ii. p. 32.

[11] Ibid. p. 45, and Athen. Oxon. ut supra. [12] Rot. Pat. A^s. I. and II. Phil. and Mary.

the stake at Bristol for testimony of the truth[13]." After his death, in 1558, the See remained vacant three years, when it was granted to

Richard Cheyney, in commendam with that of Gloucester[14]. His history shews how little the biography of the times is to be depended upon. Camden says "he was very much addicted to Luther[15];" Godwin and Richardson state that "he was perhaps more addicted to Luther than was meet[16];" whilst others assert that he was once excommunicated for popery, and that he and all his servants were papists. It is even stated that he was accused of speaking irreverently of Calvin and Luther on account of their notions of free will, &c.; and that Calfhill, Archdeacon of Colchester, was consequently deputed to preach two sermons in confutation of his opinions, in the Cathedral of Bristol[17]. Fuller thinks that he was a sincere Protestant[18]. Cheyney died in 1579. From 1581 to 1589 the See of Bristol was held in commendam by John Bullingham, Bishop of Gloucester[19]. In the year last mentioned it was however thought fit to appoint a separate Bishop, and

Richard Fletcher was installed. He was born at Cranbrook in Kent, of which place his father was vicar, became in early life a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and subsequently rector of Alderkirke, in Lincolnshire[20]. In 1572, being then M. A., he was collated to the prebend of Islington[21], and twelve years afterwards became Dean of Peterborough, in which capacity he attended upon Mary, Queen of Scots, at her execution at Fotheringhay, in 1586; and on that occasion, contrary to the dictates of humanity and of true religion, he disturbed the last moments of the unfortunate princess with unavailing entreaties to change her faith[22]. It

[13] Church History, lib. viii. p. 17. [14] See Britton's Hist. of Gloucester Cath. p. 35.
[15] Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth, sub anno 1559. [16] De Præsulibus, p. 564.
[17] Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 559. 564. [18] Church History, lib. ix. p. 111.
[19] Britton's Hist. Glouc. Cath. p. 35. [20] Cole's MSS. Brit. Mus. vol. xxvii. fol. 22, b.
[21] Dugdale's History of St. Paul's, Ellis's edit. p. 257.

[22] The following account of that circumstance is taken from the Lansdowne MSS. No. 51, art. 46.—Her Majesty's Commission having been read, "one Doctor Fletcher, dean of Peterborowe, standing directly before the Queen of Scots, without the rayle, bending his body with great reverence, began to utter this exhortacion;—'Madame the Q. most excellent Mat^ie &c.' and

was probably in consideration of this and similar services, that he was in 1589 promoted to the Bishoprick of Bristol[23], and in the same year made almoner to Queen Elizabeth[24]. According to Sir John Harington, Fletcher accepted this See on condition of leasing out its estates to courtiers[25], and did it so effectually that, after his translation to Worcester in 1593, the See remained vacant for ten years. "He was," adds Sir John, "a well spoken man, and one that the Queene gave good countenance to, and discovered her favour to him, even in her reprehensions, for she found fault with him once for cutting his beard too short: whereas good lady (if she had known it) she would have found fault with him for cutting his bishopprick so short. He could preach well, and would speak boldly, and yet keepe decorum. He knew what would please the Queene, and would adventure on that, though it offended others[26]." From Worcester he was removed to London, where he offended the queen by his marriage with Lady Baker, his second wife: but her majesty was afterwards reconciled and even visited him at his house at Chelsea, where, amongst other prepa-

iterating theis wordes three or foure tymes, she told him, 'Mr. Dean, I am settled in the auncient Catholique Romayne religion, and mynd to spend my bloode in defence of it.' Then Mr. Dean said, 'Madame, chaung your opinion and repent you of your former wickednes, and settle your faith onely in Jesus Christ, by him to be saved.' Then she aunswered agayne and agayne, 'Mr. Deane, trouble not yourselfe any more, for I am settled and resolved in this my religion, and am purposed therein to die.' After further conversation from the Lords in attendance, the Dean uttered a prayer, in which the Queen refused to join, and after the final completion of the melancholy scene, said aloud, 'So perish all the Queene's Enemyes.'"

[23] Willis's Cathedrals, vol. i. p. 779. [24] Lodge's Illustrations of Brit. Hist. vol. ii. p. 382.

[25] Nugæ antiquæ, ed. by Park, 2 vols. 8vo. 1804, vol. ii. p. 42.

[26] As an instance of this it is stated, that two very young privy counsellors having been sworn within one year, Fletcher could not refrain from quoting, in a sermon preached before the queen, a passage from Seneca against "juvenile consilium, privatum commodum, investum odium," which has been thus translated:—

> "That we may truly say, these spoyl'd the state,
> Young councell, privat gaine, and partial hate."

Her majesty, we are informed, was not offended at the freedom he had taken; and when reproved by the friends of the young counsellors, "he told the friends of either of them, *he meant it by the other*."—Harington's "Nugæ Antiquæ," ut supra, p. 45.

rations for her reception, a door and steps were constructed in a bay-window. This gave occasion for the wits of the age to say that he was so overjoyed that he had "turned the house out of the windows" for her welcome; whilst others, more severe, called it "the impresse, or emblem, of his entry into the Bishoprick of Bristol, not at the dore but at the window." But certain it is, observes our author, "that the Queene being pacified and he in great jollity, with his fayr lady, and her carpetts and cushions in her bed-chamber, died sodainly, taking tobacco in his chayre, saying to his man that stood by him, whom he loved very well, 'Oh boy, I die[27].'" Camden, speaking of Fletcher, says "he was a consummate courtier, who endeavouring to smoother the cares of an unlucky match in the smoak of tobacco, which he took to excess, and falling under the Queen's displeasure, (who thought it enough for Bishops to be fathers of the Church) between the experiment and the misfortune lost his life," in 1596[28]. His successor,

John Thornborough, was a native of Salisbury; and in the year 1570, being then eighteen years of age, was entered of Magdalen College, Oxford. Whilst there he was more distinguished for his love of pleasure and his irregularities than for his learning or his attention to the rules of the University. In a life of Dr. Simon Foreman, preserved in the Ashmolean Library, it is stated that "two batchelors of arts were the chief benefactors that maintained Simon; one of them was a Salisbury man born called John Thornborough, a demy of Magdalen College, and the other was his kinsman called Robert Pinkney, a commoner of Saint Mary's Hall and a Wiltshire man born. These two loved Simon well, but being much given to pleasure, they would make him go to the keeper of the Forest of Shotover for his

[27] Amongst other sarcastic lines, to which this circumstance gave rise, were the following:—

"Here lies the first Prelate made Christendom see
A Bishop a husband unto a Ladye;
The cause of his death, was secret and hid,
He cried out, 'I die!'—and ev'n so he did."

Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 47.

[28] Complete History of England, vol. ii. p. 956.

hounds to go out hunting from morning to night. They never studied, nor gave themselves to their books, but spent their time in the fencing schools, dancing schools, stealing deer and conies, in hunting the hare and wooing girls. They often went to the house of Dr. Giles Laurence at Cowley, near Oxon, to see his two fair daughters, Elizabeth and Martha, the first of which Thornborough wooed, the other, Pinkney, who at length married her, but Thornborough deceived the other[29]." The Earl of Pembroke made him his chaplain and also conferred on him the rectory of Chilmark, in his native County. By the interest of his patron he soon afterwards became chaplain in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth, and obtained the rectory of Bransburton, in Yorkshire. In 1589 he was promoted to the deanery of York, and four years after was made Bishop of Limerick[30]. Thornborough was translated to the See of Bristol in 1603, holding his deanery of York *in commendam*[31], and resigning his benefices in Yorkshire[32]. Two years afterwards he published a treatise, called "The joyful and blessed Re-uniting the two mighty and famous Kingdoms of England and Scotland into their antient Name of Great Britain." This work contained some passages derogatory to the honour of both houses of parliament, and the author was therefore censured by the Lords. Thornborough was unhappily embroiled in dissensions with the Corporation of Bristol, and with others of his diocesans. During the years 1606-7 he never visited the city. In the former year the Mayor and Council obtained leave from the Dean and Chapter to erect a gallery within the Cathedral, and constructed the same near the pulpit[33]. The Bishop, on visiting Bristol in 1608, caused it to be immediately pulled down; when the citizens, indignant at this assumption of power, represented the case to the king, who appointed commissioners to examine whether "the Gallery made the Church look like a playhouse," as reported. Their answer being in the negative, Thornborough was commanded to re-construct it at his own expense. This was accordingly done, but placed about three feet only from the ground; and at the same time the

[29] Wood's Athen. Oxon. by Bliss, vol. ii. col. 99.
[30] Ibid. vol. iii. col. 3.
[31] Richardson, de Præsulibus, p. 565.
[32] Wood's Athen. Oxon. by Bliss, vol. iii. col. 3.
[33] Bristol Memorialist, p. 122.

pulpit was removed to such a distance that it was impossible for persons sitting in the gallery to hear the officiating minister. The civic authorities made a second application to his majesty, who, when Thornborough next appeared at court, rebuked him so sharply that he left London and proceeded to Dorchester, and "would not come to Bristol for shame and disgrace." Continuing, however, to annoy the citizens, the mayor applied to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and obtained some redress; but the corporation for several years attended divine service at the church of St. Mary's, Redcliff[34]. In the year 1613 the affair appears to have been so far compromised, that the city officers returned to the Cathedral: this, however, might have been in compliment to Queen Anne, who in that year visited the city, and with great parade and ceremony attended that church[35]. Three years afterwards Thornborough was translated to Worcester, where he died, in 1641, at the advanced age of ninety-four. In summing up his character, Sir John Harington says, "he was a person well furnished with learning, wisdom, courage, and other as well episcopal as temporal accomplishments, beseeming a gentleman, a dean, and a Bishop[36]." But above all, he was much celebrated for his skill in chemistry, by the aid of which he was supposed to have attained so great an age[37]. Thornborough was succeeded by

Nicholas Felton, the son of a merchant of Yarmouth, successively Fellow and Warden of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; Rector of Saint Antholin's, and Saint Mary-le-Bow, London; and Prebendary of Saint Paul's Church, in London[38]. He was installed in December, 1617, and

[34] Bristol Memorialist, p. 189, 190.

[35] In the Bristol Memorialist is a long account of the queen's procession in a poem by R. Naile, an apprentice of the city.

[36] Nugæ Antiquæ, ed. 1804, vol. ii. p. 213.

[37] Athen. Oxon. by Bliss, vol. iii. col. 4.—Bishop Thornborough published, in 1621, a chemical treatise, entitled Αιθοθεωρικὸς: sive Nihil, Aliquid, Omnia, in gratiam eorum, qui artem auriferam physico-chymicè et pie profitentur." Nine years afterwards he wrote "The last Will and Testament of Jesus Christ touching the blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood," &c.; and in the year of his death, "A Discourse shewing the great happiness that hath, and may still accrue to his Maj. Kingdoms of Engl. and Scotland by re-uniting them into one—Great Britain."

[38] Athenæ Oxoniensis, by Bliss, vol. ii. col. 507.

after an interval of fifteen months was translated to the See of Ely, which he enjoyed until his death, in 1626[39]. His extensive learning recommended him to the notice of King James the First, who appointed him one of the translators of the Bible[40], a task for which he was well qualified; as, according to Fuller, "he had a sound head, and a sanctified heart, was beloved of God, and all good men, very hospitable to all, and charitable to the poor[41]."

Roland Searchfield, the next prelate, was educated at Merchant Taylor's School, London; at the age of seventeen was admitted a scholar of Saint John's College, Oxford; became successively Fellow of that House, Proctor of the University, Vicar of Emley in Northamptonshire, and Rector of Bowthorp in Gloucestershire[42]. In 1619 he was preferred to this See, which he held until his death, three years afterwards.

Robert Wright, unlike his two immediate predecessors, was a man of active disposition, and took a prominent part in the political dissensions which characterized the age. He was born at St. Albans in 1559, and at the age of fifteen entered Trinity College, Oxford; of which house he afterwards became a Fellow. He was successively made Vicar of Sunning, in the county of Berks; of Hayes, in Middlesex; Rector of Brixton-Deverill, in Wiltshire; Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, D.D.; Rector of Burton on the Water, in Gloucestershire; Canon Residentiary and Treasurer of Wells, and Chaplain in ordinary to King James the First. In 1613 he was appointed first Warden of Wadham College, and five years afterwards Rector of Rattington in Essex. The latter benefices he resigned on his preferment to the See of Bristol in 1623, as he did also the Rectory of Hayes, which he had been allowed to hold *in commendam*, in the following year[43]. Bishop Wright was a liberal benefactor to his Cathedral, and effected various alterations and improvements in the episcopal palace[44]. On his translation to Lichfield and Coventry, in 1632, he surrendered the

[39] See Bentham's Hist. of Ely Cath. ed. 1812, vol. i. p. 199.
[40] Richardson. de Præsulibus, p. 275.
[41] Church History, lib. ix. p. 134.
[42] Athenæ Oxonienses, by Bliss, vol. ii. c. 861.
[43] Ibid. vol. iv. c. 800.
[44] Willis's Survey of the Cathed. vol. ii. p. 780; and Cole's MSS. Brit. Mus. vol. x. p. 92.

treasurership of Wells, which he had previously held *in commendam*[45]. Wright had hitherto been distinguished only for his knowledge of literature and for his skill in the discussion of the controversial doctrines of the times; but he now obtained celebrity for the ability he displayed in a different sphere. Having in 1641, in conjunction with eleven more of the bishops, signed the memorable protest against the proceedings of the House of Commons, he was, together with his fellow prelates, committed by that body to the Tower. Whilst under examination at the bar of the House, he defended himself in a speech[46] so able and eloquent that, had not his judges been previously determined to imprison him, he must have been acquitted. The futility of the charge preferred against him was, however, sufficiently proved by his release after eighteen weeks confinement without further proceedings being instituted[47]. But although the arbitrary members, who then composed the House of Commons, could no longer legally detain him in prison, he had made too decided an opposition to their measures in his defence, and had evinced too much loyalty to his sovereign, to be permitted to retain his Bishoprick. Deprived of all his ecclesiastical preferments, he retired to Eccleshall Hall, in Staffordshire, a seat belonging to his former See. Here he did not remain undisturbed, for two years afterwards the place was besieged by the parliamentary forces, and the deposed Bishop, after defending it obstinately for a length of time, was taken suddenly ill, and died only two days before the house was surrendered to the rebels[48]. The See of Bristol was next conferred on

George Coke, D. D. Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and Rector of Bigrave in Hertfordshire, who was consecrated on the 10th of February, 1632[49]. He held this Bishoprick only four years, being translated to Hereford, and died in low circumstances, at Quedgeley, in December, 1646[50]. He is stated to have been "a meek, grave, and quiet man, much beloved of those who were subjected to his jurisdiction[51]." His successor,

[45] Athenæ Oxon. by Bliss, vol. iv. c. 800.
[46] Afterwards printed in one sheet, 4to.
[47] Carte's Hist. of England, vol. iv. p. 395.
[48] Richardson, de Præsulibus, p. 326.
[49] Richardson, de Præsulibus, p. 565.
[50] See Rees's Heref. Guide, ed. 1827, p. 124.
[51] Biographia Britanica, by Kippis, vol. iii. p. 676.

Robert Skinner, D.D. is erroneously stated by Wood to have been a native of Pitsford in Northamptonshire; but Mr. Baker shews that his father took possession of that rectory after the birth of his son[52]. In 1607, at the age of sixteen, he was admitted a scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, of which, six years afterwards, he became a Fellow. In July, 1637, he was elected Bishop of this See; and in 1641 was translated to that of Oxford. Soon afterwards, joining in the protest against the proceedings of Parliament, he was impeached of high treason and lodged in the Tower[53], whence being released, he retired to the rectory of Launton, and there remained in seclusion until the Restoration, when he returned to his Bishoprick[54]. In 1663, he was translated to the See of Worcester, which, it is said, he had long desired[55].

Thomas Westfield, D.D. Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, Archdeacon of Saint Alban's, Rector of Great Saint Bartholomew's, London, also of Hornsey, Middlesex, and Prebendary of Saint Paul's Church, London, was preferred to this See, on the translation of his predecessor to Oxford, in 1641. He was deprived of the revenues of his Bishoprick by the House of Commons; but restitution was afterwards made by a Committee of the same House, who stated that he was "a man of great learning and merit." He was so excellent a preacher, that Bishop King said he was born an orator, but was so diffident that he never entered the pulpit without trembling; and upon one occasion, when going to preach before the king, he fainted. Dying in June, 1644, he was succeeded by

Thomas Howell, D.D., who, according to Wood, was born in 1588 at a place called the "Brynn," in Caermarthenshire[56]; but as Fuller states, at Llangammarch, near Brecknock[57]. Admitted into Jesus College, Oxford, at the age of sixteen, he became a Fellow of that House, took his degrees in Arts, and obtained Holy Orders. King Charles the First appointed him

[52] Hist. of Northamptonsh. vol. i. p. 63.
[53] Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 115.
[54] Athen. Oxon. by Bliss, vol. iv. c. 842. See also Britton's Hist. of Oxf. Cathed. p. 26.
[55] Life of Dr. John Barwick, 8vo. p. 241. See also Kennett's Register, &c. p. 401.
[56] Athen. Oxon. by Bliss, vol. iv. col. 804.
[57] Worthies of England, in Brecknockshire.

one of his chaplains in ordinary, and soon afterwards he was presented to the rectories of West Horsley, in Surrey, and of Saint Stephen's, Walbrooke, London; proceeded D.D.; and in 1636, was created a canon of Windsor. In 1644, the king nominated him to the See of Bristol. On the surrender of that city to the parliamentary forces, soon afterwards, Howell was so grossly maltreated by them, that his death ensued. They stripped the lead from his palace, and thereby exposed his wife to the wind and rain, who was then in child-bed, and who died in consequence. They plundered the house, and turned the Prelate, with a family of ten children, into the streets[58]. Robbed, insulted, and maligned, he sunk under the weight of his misfortunes; and dying in 1646, was buried in the Cathedral[59]. Howell has been characterized as "a man of excellent understanding, and a most eloquent preacher[60]." His sermons, according to Wood, "like the waters of Siloah, did run softly gliding on with a smooth stream, so that his matter did steal secretly into the hearts of his hearers. He was a man not only flourishing with the verdure and spring of wit, but happy in the harvest of a mature understanding, and judicious in matters politick, both ecclesiastical and civil, one who like Diogenes confuted the enemies of his function and not his person, by circumspect walking[61]." In 1660 this See was conferred on

Gilbert Ironside, D.D. who being a man of wealth, independently of ecclesiastical preferments, was considered best calculated to maintain the episcopal dignity with the reduced revenues of the Bishoprick. He was born at Hawksbury, in Oxfordshire, in 1588; was admitted a scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, at the age of eighteen; became Fellow of that House, ten years afterwards; and in 1619 proceeded D.D. His first benefice was the conjoined rectory of Winterbourn-Stapleton, and Winterbourn-Abbot's, in the county of Dorset, where he wrote several theological treatises. On the Restoration of Charles the Second, he was made preben-

[58] Barrett's Hist. of Bristol, p. 330.
[59] Willis's Surv. of the Cathedrals, vol. i. p. 781.
[60] Richardson—de Præsulibus, p. 566.
[61] Athen. Oxon. by Bliss, vol. iv. col. 805.

dary of Tockerington, in the county of Northumberland, and advanced to the See of Bristol[62]. Dying in 1671,

Guy Carleton, D.D., or Charlton, was appointed his successor. He received his education at the free-school in Carlisle; whence he was sent, in 1621, to Queen's College, Oxford, as "a poor serving child." He became, successively, "Tabarder" and Fellow of his college, one of the Proctors of the University, and vicar of Bucklebury, in Berkshire: but on the breaking out of the civil war, having espoused the cause of his sovereign, he was deprived of his benefices by the parliamentary faction. Upon one occasion, he was seized and condemned to death; but, escaping from his prison-room, in Lambeth Palace, he joined the king, at Breda. Charles no sooner regained the throne, than he made Carleton one of his chaplains, preferred him to the deanery of Carlisle, and obtained for him a prebendal stall in Durham Cathedral. The latter benefice, together with the rectory of Wolsingham, in the county of Durham, he retained in commendam with the See of Bristol. In 1678 he was translated to Chichester, and was succeeded by

William Goulson, D.D. of Saint John's College, Cambridge[63], who is said to have obtained this Bishoprick by promising to annex to it, for the benefit of his successors, the rectory of Symondsbury, in Dorsetshire, of which he was the patron; a promise which he afterwards refused or neglected to fulfil[64]. Dying in 1684, he was succeeded by

John Lake, D.D. of Saint John's College, Cambridge, who had previously presided over the diocess of Sodor and Man. In the following year he was preferred to that of Chichester[65]; and in 1688, was committed to the Tower, with six other Bishops, for having subscribed a petition to the king, expressive of their aversion to disseminate throughout their respective diocesses, his Majesty's declaration for liberty of conscience[66]: he was, however, soon released. On the accession of King William the Third, Lake

[62] Kennett's Register and Chronicle, p. 328. 331.
[63] Athenæ Oxoniensis, by Bliss, vol. iv. col. 866, et seq.
[64] Richardson—de Præsulibus, p. 567. [65] Athen. Oxon. ut supra.
[66] Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa, vol. i. p. 353.

was one of the Prelates who refused to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and was consequently deprived of his Bishoprick. He died in the same year, and his successor in this See,

Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Bart. D.D. was consecrated in November, 1685: three years afterwards, he was translated to the See of Exeter, and thence, in 1707, to that of Winchester[67].

Knightly Chetwood, Dean of Gloucester, and Archdeacon of York, was nominated by King James to the vacant Bishoprick in 1688; but the appointment was not confirmed, and

Gilbert Ironside, D.D. of Wadham College, Oxford, the son of a preceding Bishop of the same name, was preferred. Having accepted the Bishoprick of Bristol, on condition of being removed to a better when a vacancy should occur, he was, in 1691, promoted to that of Hereford[68], and

John Hall, D.D. was appointed his successor, and received consecration on the 30th of August in that year. He entered Pembroke College, Oxford, in 1617, took his degrees in arts, was successively made Master of his College, and Rector of Saint Aldate's, proceeded D.D., and was elected Margaret Professor in the University. He presided over the diocess of Bristol with great credit upwards of eighteen years, and dying at Oxford in February, 1709, was buried in Saint Aldate's Church[69]. He bequeathed his library to Pembroke College, and, amongst other charitable donations, left a legacy of seventy pounds, yearly, for the purchase of Bibles to be distributed in the diocess of Bristol[70].

John Robinson, D.D., the succeeding Bishop, was a native of Cleasby, near Richmond, in Yorkshire; and at Oriel College, Oxford, he gained much celebrity for his learning and skill in theological controversy. Having accompanied an embassy to Sweden, he exhibited so much talent that he

[67] For an account of this Bishop, see Britton's History of Exeter Cathedral, p. 76; and also his History of Winchester Cathedral, p. 128.

[68] Athenæ Oxoniensis, by Bliss, vol. iv. col. 897.

[69] Willis's Surv. of the Cath. vol. i. p. 783.

[70] Evans's Chronological Outline of the History of Bristol, p. 246; in which it is stated that Bishop Hall "began the annual feast of the clergy and sons of the clergy."

was appointed envoy extraordinary, and at length ambassador to that court, where he remained from 1683 to 1708, having represented four successive sovereigns[71]. During his residence abroad he wrote "An Account of Sweden, as it was in 1688, together with an Extract of the History of that Kingdom[72]," 8vo. 1711. Returning to his native country, Queen Anne, as a compensation for his long and valued services, caused him to be appointed Dean of Windsor, Registrar of the Order of the Garter[73], and Prebendary of Canterbury: on the death of Bishop Hall, he was preferred to the See of Bristol. In 1711, he was made Lord Privy Seal, one of the plenipotentiaries for the treaty of Utrecht, a privy counsellor, and a commissioner for the completion of Saint Paul's Cathedral. Three years afterwards he was translated to the Bishoprick of London, which he held until his death, in 1723[74].

George Smalridge, D. D., the next Bishop, was the son of a dyer at Lincoln, and was sent to Westminster School by Mr. Ashmole, who afterwards supported him at Christ Church College, Oxford. He there distinguished himself by his proficiency in learning, and was selected to join in the controversy with Drs. Aldrich and Atterbury in defence of the Protestant faith, against Obadiah Walker. His first ecclesiastical preferment was to the Chapel of Tothill Fields, Westminster; and soon afterwards he obtained a prebendal stall in Lichfield Cathedral. He was subsequently appointed lecturer of Saint Dunstan's in the West, London; and in consequence of the reputation which he there gained, was successively presented to the canonry of Christ's Church, the deanery of Carlisle, and the deanery of Christ's Church; the last of which he held in commendam with the See of Bristol, to which he was appointed in April, 1714. Queen Anne subsequently made him her almoner. Queen Caroline continued to patronize him, and after his death, in 1719, settled on his widow, (who

[71] Richardson—de Præsulibus, p. 199.

[72] This is sometimes printed with Lord Mollesworth's "Account of Denmark."

[73] Pote's History of Windsor Castle, p. 411.

[74] Richardson—de Præsulibus, p. 199.

had published and dedicated to her, sixty of her husband's sermons), an annuity of 300*l.*

Hugh Boulter, D.D., a prelate alike distinguished for his learning and talents, was next appointed. Born in London, he received the rudiments of his education at Merchant Taylor's School, was admitted a commoner of Christ's Church, Oxford, and immediately after the Revolution was elected a Demi, and afterwards Fellow of Magdalen College in that University. In 1700, Sir Charles Hedges, principal secretary of state, appointed him his chaplain; and soon afterwards, Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, introduced him to the notice of the Earl of Sunderland, who obtained for him the rectory of Saint Olave's, Southwark, and the archdeaconry of Surrey. When King George the First visited Hanover, in 1719, Boulter accompanied him as chaplain, and acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of his majesty, that he intrusted to him the education of Prince Frederick, and promoted him to the See of Bristol. In 1724, he was nominated to the metropolitan See of Armagh, in Ireland, which he at first refused. The king and the ministry, however, thought that his "judgment, moderation, and wisdom," would tend to tranquillize the minds of the Irish, then much agitated, and prevailed on him to accept the arduous office. In seasons of scarcity he was more than once instrumental in averting pestilence and famine. To the clergy of his diocess he was extremely liberal, supporting many of their sons at College, and providing for their widows; and to his exertions the incorporated "Society for promoting English Protestant Working Schools," in Ireland, owes its institution. Dying in London, in June, 1742, he was interred in Westminster Abbey Church, where a monument was erected to his memory. His successor in the See of Bristol was

William Bradshaw, D.D., a native of Monmouthshire, rector of Fawley, in Berkshire, prebendary of Canterbury, and dean of Christ's Church, Oxford. He presided over the Bishoprick eight years, and dying at Bath, in 1732, was buried in his own Cathedral.

Charles Cecil, D.D. of Christ's Church, Oxford, the next Bishop, was

appointed in January, 1732; and being translated to the See of Bangor, two years afterwards, was succeeded by

Thomas Secker, LL. D. of Exeter College, Oxford; of whom a memoir has been given in the "History, &c. of Canterbury Cathedral."

Thomas Gooch, D. D., his successor, was elected Bishop in May, 1737, but was translated to Norwich in the following year.

Joseph Butler, LL. D. one of the most distinguished prelates of the eighteenth century, was next preferred. He was the son of a shopkeeper at Wantage, in Berkshire, where he was born in 1692. Procuring admission, as a commoner at Oriel College, Oxford, in 1714, he took holy orders, and four years afterwards was appointed preacher at the Rolls Chapel, London. His patron, Mr. Talbot, on his death-bed, recommended him to the especial notice of Bishop Talbot, who presented him to the rectory of Houghton, near Darlington. His friend, Mr. Secker, in a conference with Queen Caroline, introduced the name of Butler to her majesty, who, on a future occasion, inquired of Archbishop Blackburne, if he was not dead? "No, madam!" replied the Archbishop, "but he is buried:" alluding to his retired life. Butler was made chaplain to Lord Chancellor Talbot, and presented by him to a prebendal stall in Rochester Cathedral. In 1736 he was appointed clerk of the closet to Queen Caroline; and about the same time he presented to his royal mistress a treatise entitled "The Analogy of Religion, natural and revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature." In 1738 he was promoted by the king to the Bishoprick of Bristol, and two years afterwards the deanery of Saint Paul's, London, was bestowed on him. Whilst presiding over the diocess of Bristol, he expended, in repairing and improving the episcopal palace, upwards of four thousand pounds, which is said to have been more than the whole revenue of the See amounted to, during his prelacy[75]. In 1752 he was translated to

[75] Whilst the palace was undergoing repairs, in 1744, the floor of one of the rooms fell in, beneath which was a close apartment, or cell, containing many human bones and iron instruments. A narrow arched passage, coeval with the building, was also found in the thickness of the wall, one end terminating in the dungeon, and the other in an adjacent room. Both entrances had been carefully closed up.—Barrett's History of Bristol, p. 285.

Durham, which he held until his death, at Bath, two years afterwards. "On the greatness of Bishop Butler's intellectual character," observes his biographer, "we need not enlarge; for his profound knowledge, and the prodigious strength of his mind, are amply displayed in his incomparable writings. His piety was of the most serious and fervent, and perhaps somewhat of the ascetic kind; his benevolence was warm, generous, and diffusive[76]."

John Conybeare, D.D., his successor in the See of Bristol, was admitted to Exeter College, Oxford, in 1707; and two years afterwards became Probationary Fellow. He subsequently entered into Holy Orders, and obtained the curacy of Fetcham, in Surrey, where he remained about a year. Returning to Oxford, he became a tutor, and was so noted as a preacher, that Saint Mary's Church was exceedingly crowded whenever he officiated. Two of his sermons, "On the Nature, Possibility, and Certainty of Miracles," and on "The Mysteries of the Christian Religion credible," recommended him to the notice of Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London, by whom he was appointed one of his majesty's preachers at Whitehall. Lord Chancellor Macclesfield, in 1724, conferred on him the rectory of St. Clement's, in Oxford. He wrote a "Defence of revealed Religion," in opposition to Dr. Tindal's famous deistical book, entitled "Christianity as old as the Creation;" which Warburton called "the famous edifice of impiety," the pillars of which "all other writers have left standing," but which he had overturned[77]. The reputation he gained by this publication, induced the Bishop of London to solicit and obtain for him the deanery of Christ's Church, in 1732. It was not until 1750 that Conybeare obtained the higher honours of his profession, when he was preferred to the vacant See of Bristol. Dying, at Bath, five years afterwards, he was interred in his own Cathedral. "Bishop Conybeare's character appears to have been, in every view of it, respectable and excellent. Whilst he was a firm and faithful adherent to the doctrine and constitution of that church of which he was so

[76] Biographia Britanica, by Kippis, vol. iii. p. 94, et seq.

[77] Warburton's Letters, 8vo. p. 267.

eminent an ornament, he was candid in his sentiments, and friendly in his conduct with regard to Protestant dissenters[78]."

John Hume, D. D. of Christ's Church College, Oxford, succeeded to the See of Bristol, and two years afterwards was translated to Oxford. In 1774 he was promoted to Salisbury[79].

Philip Yonge, D.D., his successor, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Vicar of Arrington in Cambridgeshire, Public Orator in the University, Rector of Loughton, in the county of Bucks, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, Vice-chancellor of the University, Prebendary of Westminster[80], Canon Residentiary of Saint Paul's, London, and Rector of Therfield in Hertfordshire, has been noticed in the History of Norwich Cathedral; to which See he was translated in 1774.

Thomas Newton, D. D. of Trinity College, Cambridge, the next Bishop, was the son of a wine-merchant at Lichfield; and in 1744, being then forty years of age, was preferred by the Earl of Bath to the rectory of Saint Mary-le-Bow, London, having previously officiated as chaplain to that nobleman, and as morning preacher at the Chapel in Spring Gardens. Six years afterwards, he was chosen lecturer of Saint George's, Hanover Square: in 1749, he re-published, in two volumes, quarto, with notes, Milton's "Paradise Lost," which was so favourably received, as to pass through eight editions. This was succeeded, after an interval of three years, by the "Paradise Regained," and Milton's Minor Poems. In the winter of 1754, the first volume of a "Dissertation on the Prophecies," the most interesting and popular of all his works, was ushered into the world. Two years afterwards, he was appointed chaplain to the king; in 1757, made prebendary of Westminster, and about the same time, sub-almoner and precentor of the Cathedral of York. He was preferred to the See of Bristol, in September, 1761, and at the same time was made residentiary of Saint Paul's Cathedral, London. On his promotion to the deanery of the latter church in 1768, he resigned the residentiaryship and his other benefices, but retained the

[78] Biographia Britannica, by Kippis, vol. iv. p. 89, et seq.

[79] See the Author's History, &c. of Salisbury Cathedral.

[80] Cole's MSS. British Museum, vol. x. p. 76. b.

deanery, together with his Bishoprick, until his death, in 1782. He was interred in Saint Paul's Cathedral, London, and a monument commemorates him in Bow Church, Cheapside.

Lewis Bagot, D. D. was promoted to the vacant See, in March, 1782, but was in the following year translated to Norwich.

Christopher Wilson, D. D. of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, Prebendary of Westminster, next succeeded; and dying in 1792,

Spencer Madan, D. D. who has been noticed in the History of Peterborough Cathedral, was appointed his successor; and after him

Henry Reginald Courtenay, D. D. was, in 1794, preferred to the Bishoprick: he was translated to Exeter, three years afterwards, (in the History of which Cathedral a brief memoir of him has been given).

Folliot Herbert Walker Cornwall, D. D. Dean of Canterbury, succeeded. In 1802 he was translated to the See of Hereford; and thence, in 1808, to that of Worcester; over which Diocess his lordship now presides.

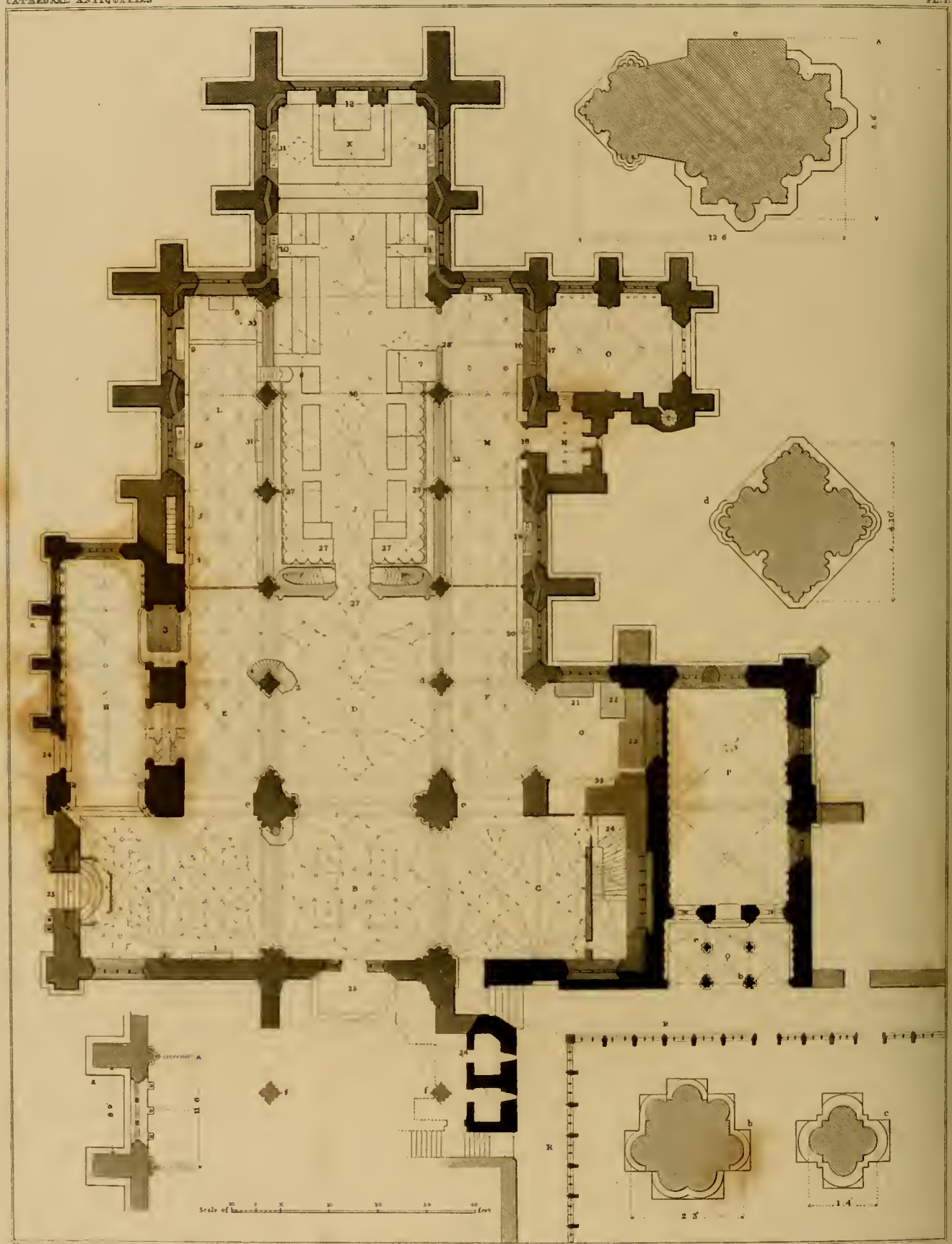
The Hon. George Pelham, D. D. the next Bishop, has been mentioned in the History of Exeter Cathedral. His successor,

John Luxmore, D. D. then Dean of Gloucester, was installed in this Bishoprick in August, 1807; in the following year he was removed to Hereford, and, in 1815, translated to St. Asaph, which he retained until his decease, on the 21st of January, 1830. He was succeeded in this See by

William Lort Mansel, D. D. Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. The Right Hon. Mr. Perceval, when Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, presented him to the very valuable rectory of Barwick, in Yorkshire, and subsequently promoted him to this Diocess. He died on the 3rd of July, 1820, and was interred in the Chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge.

John Kaye, D. D., Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Regius Professor of Divinity in that University, was appointed to the vacant See, in the year last named. On his translation to Lincoln, in 1827,

Robert Gray, D. D. a Prebendary of Durham, and formerly of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, was promoted to this Bishoprick, over which his lordship still presides.



Measured & Drawn by T.H. Clarke Augt. 1826

Engraved by J. Roffe

BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

GROUND PLAN & PLANS OF PARTS

London Published Decr. 1. 1828. by Longman & C. Paternoster Row.

Chap. III.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE FOUNDATION AND BUILDING OF THE ABBEY CHURCH, NOW THE CATHEDRAL, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE WHOLE EDIFICE AND OF ITS VARIOUS PARTS, ILLUSTRATED BY ENGRAVINGS OF THE GROUND PLAN, GEOMETRICAL ELEVATIONS, AND VIEWS.

The Ground Plan shews the arrangement, extent, and sub-divisions of the present church; whilst the annexed views, and geometrical elevations and sections display the varied styles, or distinct architectural features which prevail in different parts of the fabric. It will be seen by the plan that the present edifice is only a fragment or portion of a complete conventual church, according to the general system of laying out those buildings. Here is no nave with its ailes, remaining, no porch, no western entrance; yet we may infer that the original design included all those members. The arrangement of the church is singular, irregular, and made up of distinct and dissimilar parts. At its western end is a transept, i. e. an open space, (A, C, in ground plan) extending north and south beyond the choir and ailes. The whole western extremity is closed by a wall, through which there are two small door-ways, one to a closet, 25, and the other to the cloister, R. To the east are five openings through lofty arches, to the elder Lady Chapel, H; to the north aile, E; anti-choir, D; south aile, F; and to a sort of second transept, called the Newton Chapel, G. The apartment bearing the name of the elder Lady Chapel, on the north side of the church, now useless, is separated from the transept by a pointed arch of several deep and bold mouldings, some of which spring from detached columns; and it has two communications to the aile by open arches cut through a thick wall, in one of which is placed a large altar tomb for two persons of the Berkeley family. A choir, with two ailes, and a kind of chancel extending beyond the latter, constitute the remaining open

part of the church. The choir itself, or part used for the cathedral service, extends from the organ-screen, 5, to the steps of the altar, and is fitted up with stalls and seats on each side; the bishop's throne to the south, 7, and the pulpit opposite, 6. Branching from the eastern end of the south aile is a vestibule, N, of singular architectural design, and a vestry, O. At the extremity of the southern side of the transept, but entered from the cloister, is the chapter-room, P, with a vestibule, or portico of entrance, Q. Of the cloister, R, only two sides remain, bounding the east and southern sides of the area. By the Plan it is seen that there are stairs at the south end of the transept, 24, which lead to an apartment over the vestibule to the chapter-house.

Of the precise dates and ages of the different portions of the church and its appendages we have no certain evidence; but from the marked styles of architecture that prevail in those parts, from masonic execution, and from documentary testimony, we shall be enabled to ascertain with tolerable precision the eras of each distinct and peculiar part of the building.

It is at once amusing and vexatious to peruse the statements of different writers, some of high repute, respecting the architectural history of this edifice. Even Bishop Lyttleton, who obtained the reputation of being learned and acute in subjects of this kind, has given publicity to some confused notions on the character of the church. He says it "appears to be one and the same style of building throughout, and no part older than Edward the First's time, though some writers suppose that the present fabric was begun in King Stephen's time; but not a single arch, pillar, or window, agrees with the mode which prevailed at that time. Indeed, the lower part of the chapter-house walls, together with the door-way and columns at the entrance of the chapter-house, I should pronounce of that age, or rather *prior to King Stephen's reign, being true Saxon Architecture.*" Another writer, who is not a little self-sufficient and dogmatical, thinks the elder Lady Chapel may be of Fitz-Harding's time, and consequently part of the original church, and that the remainder was erected by Abbot Knowle between 1311 and 1332. The same author reprobates, in terms both intemperate and unwarrantable, all other writers who apply the phrase "Norman Architecture" to buildings which were raised by the Normans either on the

W.H.Bartlett del.

Engraved by J. Le Keux.

BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

VESTIBULE TO CHAPTER HOUSE.

To the REV.D JOSEPH CROSS. M.A. Precentor of Bristol Cathedral this plate is inscribed with sentiments of esteem by THE AUTHOR.

London. Published Feb.y 1. 1830 by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row.

Drawn by C.Hacker. Engraved by J.Le Keux.

BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

PARTS OF CHAPTER HOUSE.

A. Part of West End. B. Section through Vestibule. C. Plan of part of ditto. D. Part of South Side.

Printed by Barnett.

London Published Feb.1 1830 by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row.

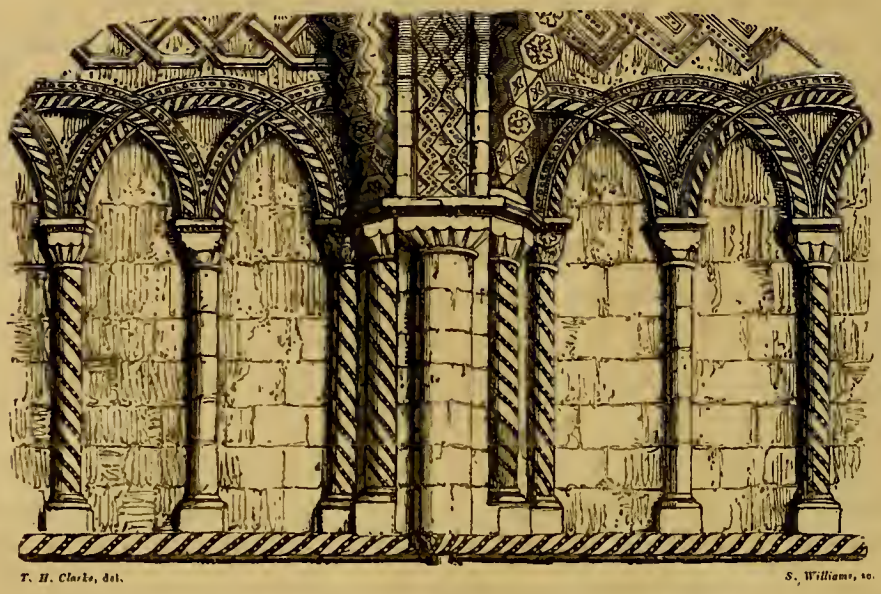
Continent or in Britain. The best comments on, and refutation of such dogmas, are historical data, rational description, and correct illustration.

The engraved *Ground Plan* shews three gradations of tint, intimating so many positive varieties, or eras, in the ages of the edifice. The darkest colour, in the walls of the chapter-house, and the wall branching from its north-western angle, with the cells at 26, indicates the oldest part of the fabric: the next is the elder Lady Chapel; whilst nearly all the remainder seems to be of a later time, and very nearly of one style and age. It is not, however, easy to explain or account for these disjointed and dissimilar portions of the church. In the *Chapter-house*, as in the lower part of the abbey gate-house, at the south-west angle of the Green[1], and in some doorways of the palace, we perceive specimens of truly Norman Architecture, in arches, columns, capitals, windows, and string courses; and these may be referred to the first, or original monastic foundation, which, as already stated, must be ascribed to Robert Fitz-Harding, in 1142. About that time many large churches and abbeys were erected in England, as well as in Normandy; for it was an age of monachism and fanaticism. During the reigns of Henry I., Stephen, and Henry II. no less than three hundred monasteries were founded in this kingdom; many important and interesting remains of which are still extant to shew the improved and progressive styles of architectural design and execution. In the latter reign we find very early, if not the first, examples of *pointed arches.* The *vestibule to the chapter-room* shews an instance where the form is very decided and very perfect, yet all its mouldings and members are of the circular style and character. This arch is shewn in PLATE IV. B, a, and it forms nearly an equilateral triangle from the points of springing with the apex. The plan, view, and section of this approach to the chapter-room, will clearly illustrate its design and architecture; whilst the Ground Plan, at P; the view, PLATE III.; the elevations, PLATE IV. A, C; and the section, PLATE IX. a, will display the arrangement,

[1] This building is illustrated and described in "*The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain,*" vol. iii.

size, architectural character, and ornamental details of the *chapter-room.* The annexed *wood cut* shews the forms of the capitals, bases, columns, rib-mouldings, string course, and unusual tracery on the walls at the centre of the north side of this room.

PART OF THE CHAPTER ROOM.



It will be proper to remark that the interior view, PLATE III. has some variations from the present state and appearance of the chapter-room. A new boarded floor has been raised about two feet six inches above the original floor, whereby the stone seat, which extended round the room, and united with the walls, is entirely covered. Large openings have been made in the south and east walls, in which common sash window-frames are introduced, and the whole interior surface is covered with repeated coats of white-wash. All these things not only greatly disfigure, but tend to destroy the true architectural character and effect of an antient apartment, which, in its original state, must have been one of the most interesting of the kind in the kingdom, and perhaps in Europe. Though it has been thus sadly barbarised, it may be easily restored, and thus rendered an object

Drawn by W.H.Bartlett. Engraved by J.Le Keux.

BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

CHAPTER ROOM, LOOKING WEST.

To the REV.D WILLIAM BOND, M.A. Prebendary of the Cathedral, this plate is inscribed by
THE AUTHOR.

Printed by Barnett & Son.

London Published March 1.1830, by J.Britton, Burton Street.

Drawn by W.H.Bartlett

Engraved by J.Le Keux

BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

ELDER LADY CHAPEL, LOOKING EAST.

To SIR FRANCIS FREELING BART. F.S.A. &c. &c. this plate is inscribed by

THE AUTHOR.

London, Published March 1.1830, by Longman & C.ª Paternoster Row

Printed by Hayward

Drawn by T.H.Clarke

Engraved by J. Le Keux.

BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

A. COMPARTMENT, S. SIDE OF CHANCEL: B. D° SOUTH AISLE: C. D° NORTH SIDE LADY CHAPEL.

London, Published June 1, 1839, by Longman & Co Paternoster Row

Printed by Barnett & Son.

of admiration and delight to every lover of Christian Architecture. Let us indulge the hope that this improvement may be speedily effected. It would certainly be more praiseworthy to preserve and restore the good things of former ages, than it is to promote the erection of some of those tasteless and fragile buildings called modern churches. In the west wall of the south transept are two door-ways, one closed up, and the other open; the former of which appears to have been the original opening to the cloister, whilst the latter, PLATE IX. c. led to the cells marked 26 in the Plan. Next in date, is the apartment called

The elder Lady Chapel, an appellation which it obtained after the erection of a more modern chapel, dedicated to our Lady. The Lady, or Virgin Mary Chapel, was generally at the east end of the church[2]; and it is very likely that the altar end of the present edifice was thus appropriated by Abbot Knowle. It is not easy to explain how the elder Lady Chapel was united with, or what part it formed of, Fitz-Harding's church; but it never could have been the original eastern termination of that fabric. Its style of architecture, its form, and design, may be inferred from the Ground Plan, H; the view, PLATE V.; and the elevation of one compartment on the north side, PLATE VI. c. Though we have no evidence of the time of the erection of this Chapel, it may be safely referred to the age of Abbot David, who died in 1234. Its richly-sculptured foliated capitals, insulated purbeck columns, and fancy sculptures, between the archivolt mouldings, are all indicative of that age (see PLATE VI. c, and IV. A, c). There is, however, a poverty and clumsiness in the exterior finishing of the windows which betray a cobbling execution.

We have pretty good authority to ascribe most of the remaining parts of the edifice to Abbot Knowle, who was preferred to the abbacy in 1306, and who is represented as having begun and partly built a new church. By a document in one of the registers of Worcester Cathedral, dated 1311, it appears that the church of Wotton (perhaps Wotton Under-edge) was at

[2] In Ely Cathedral the Lady Chapel is on the north side of, and completely detached from the church.

that time appropriated to the Abbey of Saint Augustine, to augment its revenues, which had been reduced by the expense of the buildings then in progress[3].

This document, although couched in the exaggerated style of monkish petitions, contains much truth. How far Knowle proceeded with the new works is uncertain; but it is inferred that he built the choir and its ailes, the chancel, and the vestry. Abbot Newland states, that when his predecessor commenced the new church, he also laid the foundations of the king's hall and chamber, and the fratry. Snow, the succeeding Abbot, died in 1341; and as he only, besides Fitz-Harding and his lady, was annually commemorated as a benefactor, it may be presumed that he materially advanced the works which had been begun by his predecessor. These were afterwards suspended for want of money, and on account of a plague which almost depopulated Bristol in 1348; nor was it until the convent obtained from the Pope, through the medium of the fourth Maurice, Lord Berkeley, a bull to raise collections, that there was a re-commencement of the work. This bull granted forty days of pardon and release from penance to every person who should hear mass on festival days in the Church of Saint Augustine, (the same being then "ruinous, and in want of repair"), or should say, kneeling, three Ave-Marias, or give any vestment, ornament, gold, silver, book, chalice, or other charitable donation, towards the repair of the said church, or should pray for the life and good estate of Maurice, Lord Berkeley, Elizabeth his wife, and their family. This Maurice died in 1368. The peculiar character of the architecture of Abbot Knowle's building is displayed in PLATES VI. A. B.—VII.—X.—and XII.

From the debts incurred by Walter Newbury, about 1428, and from the style of building which prevails in the *tower*, it evidently belongs to his time; and was perhaps finished by his successor, William Hunt, to

[3] The words of the deed are,—"Quod ecclesia ejusdem monasterii a piis ipsius fundatoribus antiquis temporibus ad cultum divinum opere sumptuoso constructa dudum propter ipsius antiquitatem et debilitatem *pro majori parte funditus diruta et in parte residuâ gravem minatur ruinam*; ad cujus fabricæ restaurationem plures sumptus apposuerunt et ampliores apponere oportebit in opere ibidem noviter inchoato," &c.—Liber Albus Wygorniæ, G, fol. 20, in Reg. ep. Wygorn.

Measured & Drawn by C.Hacker 1828.

Scale of 20 15 10 5 0 feet

Engraved by J.Le Keux.

BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

SECTION & PLAN OF THE EAST OR ALTAR END.

London Published March 1. 1829 by Longman & Co Paternoster Row.

Barnett & Son Printers.

Drawn by C. Hacker. Engraved by J. Le Keux.

BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

SECTION THROUGH THE TRANSEPT, CHAPTER HOUSE, TOWER &c.

Printed by Barnett & Son.

London Published Aug. 1. 1829, by J. Britton, Burton Street.

Drawn by W. H. Bartlett. Engraved by J. Le Keux.

BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

VIEW FROM THE S.E.

To EDWARD DALTON, ESQ. F.S.A. &c. this plate is inscribed as a mark of friendship by THE AUTHOR.

London. Published March. 1. 1830. by J. Britton. Burton Street. Printed by Hayward.

Drawn by W. H. Bartlett. Engraved by W. Woolnoth.

BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

VIEW OF NORTH AISLE, &c. LOOKING S.E.

To THE RT REV.D ROBERT GRAY, D.D. *LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL*, this plate is inscribed by THE AUTHOR.

London. Published Feb.y 1.1830. by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row.

Printed by Bamvell & Son.

whom may also be attributed the upper part of the *south transept*, which was certainly raised upon the walls of the old Norman Church. The Convent had obtained a lease, in 1466, from the Bishop of Bath and Wells of one of the *Dundry Quarries*, whence the stone used in these parts of the church is supposed to have been procured. John Ashfield was "*the master of the new works*," from 1472 to about 1491. In the latter year Prior John Martyn held that office; and it may be concluded that most of the works were from Ashfield's designs, and under his superintendence[4]. Other portions of the church appear also to have been completed under Abbot Hunt; for it is recorded that, in 1480, the Prior and Convent granted an obiit and mass to be celebrated to his memory, "in a certain *new chapel* of the blessed *Virgin Mary*, at the east end of the conventual church," because the said William Hunt had not only erected at his own expense "a great number of barns, houses, and other costly buildings," in

[4] The white rose, the emblem of the Yorkists, appears in the windows of this part of the church. The schedule of debts, in 1488, gives reason to suppose that the tower and south transept were nearly finished in 1476, for in the preceding year the Abbot had advanced 101*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.*; whereas in that year he paid only 52*l.* 2*s.*; and it does not appear that the Abbey afterwards incurred any additional debt.

William of Worcester gives three measures of the Abbey Church, agreeing with one another, and corresponding with the remains of the building. His last memorandum must have been made in or after the year 1480. He specifies the measure of the square under the tower, yet says nothing of any work then going on, and evidently includes that square in the length of the *old church* as distinct from the choir. He had before named ninety feet as the length of the nave of the old church, and he now makes it eighty-two *gressus*. By comparison with his former measures of the chapter-house, and of the choir and ailes, it is found that his gressus was about eighteen inches and a half, which, after deducting the tower, will leave nearly the former measure for the length of the old nave. Hence it is probable that the part of the new work which was commenced at the beginning of Edward the Fourth's reign had been finished, and that the renovation of the northern transept was not commenced.

Ashfield, the "master of the new work," and supposed architect of the tower and south transept, seems to have intended that the southern aile of the western part of the church should range regularly with that of the eastern part near the choir. This is the reason why the arch between the tower and Newton's Chapel rests upon *corbels* against the southern side; the pier under it having been cut down to widen the opening; and for the same reason the vaulting is so planned that it was evidently intended to include more than half of the north cloister in the church, when the adjoining part should be rebuilt.

the manors belonging to the monastery of Saint Augustine, but that he had also "made anew the *roofing* of the whole conventual church, as well by battlements, with stones and pinnacles decently placed round the said church, as by timber, lead, and other necessaries."

In 1481 the Convent had contracted a debt with Abbot Newland of 242*l.* 19*s.* 8½*d.*; but whether that sum had been expended in glazing the windows, or in buildings, does not appear. Before the year 1492 the whole church, with the exception of the northern transept, must have been nearly completed, as may be inferred from the armorial bearings of Mowbray and others, in the windows, from the altars, holy cross, &c. and shrines with pyxes or boxes for offerings; though as to the stalls, they "seem not to have been finished till many years after, when Elliot was abbot." Although no building was going on in 1492, it is evident from the account for that year of "John Martyn, the master of the new work" that stone was obtained from Dundry quarries, which had been let to farm for two years to John Hillesly and others, on condition of furnishing forty waggon-loads of stone, and lodging them on Redcliff Hill, at their own cost. The same accountant charges for eighty loads of free-stone, at 2*s.* 6*d.*—10*l.*—and for twenty loads of "Ragges," at 12*d.*—1 *li.*; for the carriage of one hundred loads of free-stone and "Ragges" to Redcliff Hill, and for the carriage of one hundred and sixty loads thence to the porch of the old church, in the sanctuary of the monastery of Saint Augustine, 53*s.* 4*d.* From a note at the foot of this account it appears that there was then due to John Ashfield, late master of the new works, arrears of salary for nineteen years. From a payment made to the clerk and choristers of the elder Saint Mary's Chapel it is evident that the choral service, which must have been transferred to that portion of the church before the re-building of the new part of the edifice, still continued to be performed therein in 1491, which would hardly have been the case if the workmen had been then employed near the place. Hence it may be inferred that the *northern transept* was not undertaken until after this chapel was disused. From 1492 till 1498 the Convent appears to have been paying off old debts: in the latter year, however, the expenses began to increase; and it is therefore probable that about that time the transept was

commenced upon the old foundations: John Martyn being then master of the works. This portion of the building remained unfinished until after Abbot Newland's death; and a new *door-way* was made into the elder Lady Chapel in consequence of the unfinished and impassable state of the north transept. Over this door-way are the arms of *Abbot Somerset,* and Newland's arms appear in the vaulting of the roof of the transept.

Much money must also have been expended in the other buildings of the Abbey about this time; for the refectory and cloister, and more particularly the highly-decorated super-structure over the Norman *gate-way* from the Upper to the Lower Green, must have been chiefly executed between 1480 and 1520: the latter having the effigies of Newland and Elliot in niches, with their arms on the pedestals by which they are supported. The arms and initials of W. Burton, who was abbot from 1533 to 1537, on the upper part of the present altar-screen, shew that interior decorations were going on in his time, and till near the dissolution of the Abbey. (See PLATE XI. 2.)

Although it is not easy to explain when and on what account the *nave and ailes* were demolished, we may presume that it was anterior to the dissolution, and that their re-erection was among the works in progress by Newland, Elliot, Hunt, &c. Two arches of the nave, with clustered columns, are incorporated in the large buttresses to the west of the tower (f, f, in Plan); and at some distance from the western wall of the north transept there is the base of a buttress, which indicates the termination of that end of the church: but not of the Norman edifice.

In 1542, when Saint Augustine's Monastery was converted into a Cathedral, the dilapidations which it had sustained during the three preceding years, were partly repaired, the interior was re-decorated, and the very curious tracery carvings in wood which adorn the stalls of the present choir were removed from their original situation, near the tower. After these alterations were effected, it appears by the following extract from one of the capitular registers, that the clergy eagerly endeavoured to revive the splendid and gawdy ceremonies of the antient church service:—

Md.—Rec^{d} the first of Maye, 1555, by Cloude the Carier, of the gifte of the kinge and quenes most excellent ma^{ties} to the Cath. Church of Bristoll, the Copes Vestments &c. followinge;—

Imprimis III Copes, one of Rredd Satten with streaks of gold pst decon and subdecon:—another of yellow velvet pst deacon and subdecon:—Another of blewe velvet pst decon & subdecon.

It. III Aulter ffronts an. of yellow velvet an. red satten wth streaks of gold:—Another of blewe velvet and yellow satten.—Another of violet velvet and grene satten.

Soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, when orders were issued for the general *demolition of roods, images, and other ornaments of popish worship,* the following letter was addressed by three Commissioners in London to the Dean and Chapter of Bristol:—

"After our hartie comendacōns.—Whereas we are credibly informed that there are divers tabernacles for Images as well in the fronture of the Roodeloft of the Cath^{l} Church of Bristol, as also in the frontures back and ends of the walles wheare the comñ table standeth, for asmoch as the same churche shoulde be a light and good example to th'ole Citie and Dioc. we have thought good to direct these our lrēs unto you and to require youe to cause the said Tabernacles to be defaced & hewen downe and after wards to be made a playne walle wth morter plast^{r} or otherways & some scriptures to be written in the places & namely that upon the walle on the east ende of the quier wheare the comñ table usually doth stande the table of the comand^{es} to be painted in large caracters with convenient speed and furniture according to the orders latly set furthe by vertue of the Quenes ma^{ts}. comñission for causes ecclesiasticall at the coste and chardges of the said churche whereof we require you not to faile. And so we bed you farewell. ffrom London the xxi^{t} of December 1561."

In 1629 a new west window was made, an organ was built, and other works were executed in the Cathedral, by means of voluntary contributions[5]. During the Protectorate of Cromwell, Walter Deyos, the Mayor of Bristol, evinced his intemperate zeal for the new government, by causing the lead to be stripped from the Cathedral and Cloisters; but other members of the corporation took measures to prevent further demolition, and orders were issued in January, 1655, for the sale of the lead, and for the application of the proceeds to repair the building[6]. Eight years afterwards, as we learn from the Annals of Bristol, "the Cathedral Church was new mended, and flourished[7]." In the year 1670 the sum of 1300*l.* was

[5] Evans's Chronological Outline, &c. p. 176.

[6] Barrett's History of Bristol, p. 286, from Tolzey Book, p. 99.

[7] Bristol Memorialist, 1816—1823, p. 287.

laid out on the Church and prebendal houses, and between the years 1681 and 1685 upwards of 300*l.* more in repairing the pavement, *painting* the east end of the choir, and otherwise ornamenting the church.

The next alteration effected in the Cathedral was in 1713, when the floor of the chapter-house was raised between two and three feet above the old pavement. Four large modern sashes were at the same time inserted in place of the old circular windows; and over the door was affixed this inscription:—"*Capitularis hæc domus reparata et ornata fuit, A. D.* 1713, *Honorabili et Reverendo Roberto Booth, S. T. P. decano, Jacobo Harcourt, S. T. B. vice-decano, Hugone Waterman, A. M. Thesaurario.*"

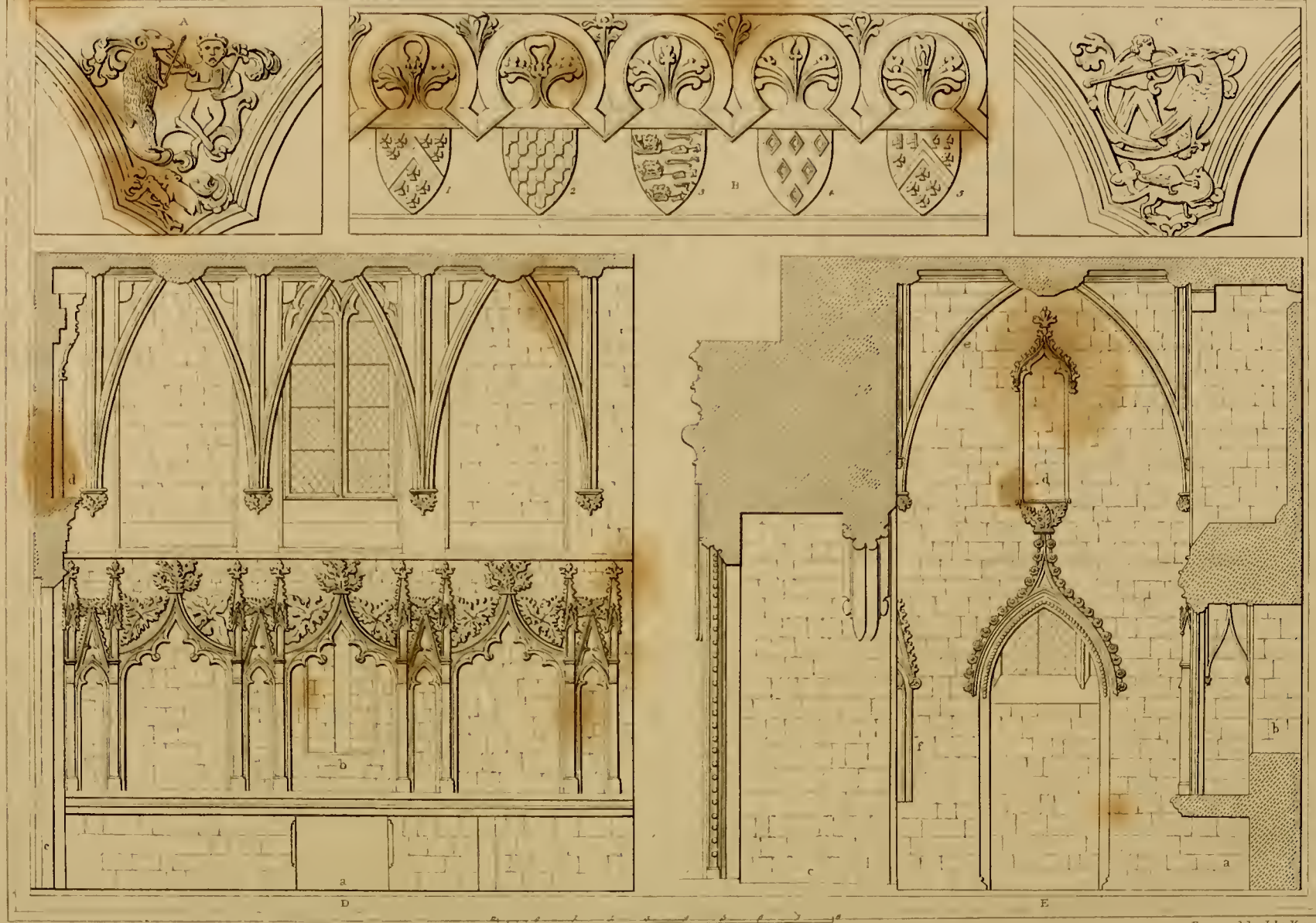
The site of the west end of the old church was leased for tenements soon after the foundation of the Bishoprick: the first lease being granted in the year 1583. Before that time a small tenement had been erected over the arched vault, or cellar, which adjoins the south entrance into the present church. It had been inhabited by William Blomer, the sub-sacrist. The vault was probably the strong room of the sacristry of the old church, and had been preserved and built over, after the adjacent western parts of the old church had been destroyed.

The remaining space then leased was one hundred and eighteen feet long by ninety feet wide; but in that width it evidently included about eighteen or twenty feet beyond the antient church to the north, on which the stone of the ruined building is now lying. The space had been then recently converted into a garden and enclosed with a wall. The lease has since been frequently renewed, but the Chapter have agreed never to renew it again: we may therefore hope to see this area an ornamental, rather than a filthy, appendage to the church. The ground on the north side of the building has accumulated more than four feet in height, in consequence of which the pavement of the church, as well as the walls, must always be damp.

Respecting the *interior of the church,* and some of its ornamental details, it will be expedient to relate a few particulars. By the view of the interior, (PLATE XII.) the section at the east end, (PLATE VII. and PLATE VI. B) it will be seen that the *vaulting of the ailes* is of equal height to that of the nave, and that it exhibits a peculiar, and, I believe, unique example of construction,

whence it claims the particular attention of the antiquary and the architect. It is well known that the ailes of churches, in almost every instance, are considerably lower than the nave and choir, which are supported, or strengthened by flying buttresses, extending from the side walls of the former, to other larger buttresses, against the ailes: in the lofty and lighter styles of architecture, as King's College Chapel, Cambridge, Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and similar buildings, the outer or lateral buttresses are very large and massive. In the design of the choir and ailes of Bristol Cathedral the architect has adopted a novel and truly original principle: and when we recollect that the artists of the middle ages were constantly seeking for improvements, to vary from preceding examples, we are surprised that this invention was not repeated, with new adaptations, in some subsequent buildings. If this has been done, I have not met with it. In the example before us, we find that the arches between the choir and ailes rise as high as the central vaulting, and that the side windows of the ailes correspond in height. Hence both the choir and ailes are lighted by these lateral windows. This is shewn by the section, PLATE VII., and also in PLATE VI., B. By comparing and analysing these two engravings, the architect, and it is hoped also every other reader, will easily understand the construction of this part of the church. These sections also, in union with the view, PLATE XII., display another peculiarity, which manifests at once the science and fancy of the architect. To counteract the thrust of the vaulted roof of the choir, and at the same time give intricacy, variety, and picturesque effect to the ailes, the architect constructed a series of horizontal buttresses, or beams, across these ailes, supported by arches, and sustaining insulated ribs and vaulting.

In the *Vestibule to the Vestry,* PLATE VIII. marked N, in the Ground Plan, there is a similar design in the ribs, which are detached from the walls, and unite in a large horizontal rib under a *flat roof.* The door-way between this room and the vestry, PLATE VIII., E, with the niche over it, d; another niche at f, a small window at b, the thickness of the wall of the aile, c, and a recess, forming a sort of fire place, at a, are clearly shewn in this engraving, which is a section from north to south, whilst an elevation of the



Measured & Drawn by C. Hacker.

Scale of Feet

Engraved by J. Le Keux.

BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

A, C. Pieces of Sculpture in Old Lady Chapel.—B. Part of a tomb between S. Aisle and Vestry —
D. Elevation of one Side of Vestibule to Vestry.—E. Section looking East of Ditto.—

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south side of the same room is shewn in the same Plate, D. This side is ornamented with a series of *ogee arches* of unusual design in the curvature of the moudings, adorned with cusps, buttresses, and finials of elaborate detail[8]. These arches resemble the lower part of the *altar screen*, which has been much mutilated, and as shamefully defaced by the tasteless operations of some house painter[9]. In PLATE VII. I have ventured to represent this screen as presumed to have been originally, or as it might be appropriately restored. Mr. Lysons, in "Gloucestershire Antiquities," has shewn it as made up of four equal divisions, from north to south; but by careful measurement, I find this could not have been the case. The central compartment, now covered by a modern altar piece, is considerably wider than the two lateral arches. On the bold cornice are four fine busts, most likely portraits of King Edward I. and the contemporary Lord Berkeley[10]. The upper part of this screen was probably made by *William Burton*, as the initials W. B. are cut on it. See Engraved Title Page, 2.

The *organ screen* appears to have been constructed when the church was first fitted up for the cathedral service, and its style of architecture, armorial bearings, &c. identify its patrons and age. The Tudor arms, with a dragon and greyhound for supporters, with the initials H. R.—those of the Prince of

[8] Mr. Lysons considered this apartment so singular and curious that he has given a large view of it in the volume of etchings already referred to. Mr. Skelton has also engraved it for his "Antiquities of Bristol." The former learned antiquary says the vestry was "formerly a chapel of the Berkeley family; from the arms over the door, it appears to have been built by Thomas Lord Berkeley, who succeeded to the barony in 1281, and died 15 Edward II. he being the first who added the ten crosses to the chevron on the arms." The crockets on the arch moulding of the door-way to the vestry are remarkable, as they rather resemble shells than leaves.

[9] Few things can be more displeasing to the eye, and annoying to the feelings, than such misapplication of work: painting over a fine and interesting stone screen, to imitate a piece of bad theatrical scenery, is the climax of bad taste.

[10] These busts are delineated in the engraved title page, PLATE XI. in which are also shewn the crown and royal arms, at the centre of the same screen, the arms of Berkeley, &c. The two niches and canopies, in the same engraving, are from the battered screen at the eastern end of the north aile: a restored representation of which, very carefully executed, is published in Skelton's "Antiquities of Bristol."

Wales, with E. P.—and the letters T. W. on a shield, are inserted in the spandrils of the door-way. The last initials are those of Thomas Wright, who was appointed receiver general for the Chapter in 1541. The screen, between the choir and south aile, is covered with panelling, and has a shield on the south side, with the initials of T. W. See PLATE VI. B.

In the anti-choir, west of the organ screen, is a *stone pulpit*, presented by Bishop Wright, charged with inscriptions and armorial bearings.

The *Bishop's palace*, on the south side of the Cathedral, is mostly of modern construction, and it is related that Bishop Butler expended above 5000*l.* in repairs and alterations: there are some Norman arches incorporated with the later walls.

The *Deanery*, at the south west corner of College Green, is likewise of modern date. Its front, towards College Green, is said to have been built, or new cased, by Dean Creswick, between 1730 and 1739: and it is reported that Warburton made some alterations in the garden front and in the interior.

Chap. IV.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS AND INTERMENTS OF EMINENT PERSONS WITHIN THE CATHEDRAL.

Having detailed the chief historical events connected with the monastic and Cathedral Church of Bristol, it will be expedient, in the next place, to notice the tombs and monumental memorials of those persons who, during a long succession of years, have been interred within its walls.

From the time of its foundation to its dissolution, the Abbey of Saint Augustine was the burial-place, it may almost be said the family vault, of the Berkeleys; and several of the antient monuments now remaining were raised in commemoration of members of that house. There are in the walls of the chancel, and in those of the north and south ailes of the choir, eight richly-ornamented recesses, locally termed "*monks' cowls,*" (similar to that represented in the title-page to this volume), which appear to have constituted part of the original design, as they were evidently constructed when the church was re-built, and have been successively occupied by monumental effigies of persons whose rank entitled them to sepulture within the church. Two of these recesses, in the north aile, and another in the south aile, either never contained effigies, or they have been destroyed.

In the following notices of monuments, and of persons interred within the church, a chronological order is adopted, and references made to the ground plan, to point out the respective places of sepulture.

Robert Fitz-Harding died on the 5th of February, 1170, and according to Dugdale, "with Eva *his wife,* lieth buried in the Quire of Saint Augustine's Abbey, whereof he was the pious founder[1]." The monument usually

[1] Baronage, vol. i. p. 350.—In commemoration of the Founder and Foundress, as appears from Abbot Newland's roll, a special prayer was said in the Abbey at seven o'clock every morning, and also daily prayers in the Chapter House. On the eve of their anniversary, the Abbot performed divine rites for the soul of the Founder, and the Prior for the Foundress: and the Abbey bells were tolled. On the following day, a canon's loaf of bread, called a *myche,* and

ascribed to these persons, under an arch between the Elder Lady Chapel and the north aile, may with more certainty be referred to the third Maurice, Lord Berkeley, who died in 1368, and Elizabeth his wife[2].

Near the great north door is a sepulchral stone of singular form, which doubtless commemorates one of the earliest Abbots, and was probably removed from the old Church. It is in the shape of a coffin lid, having sculptured upon it a bald head, much defaced, and a cross fleury.

Robert, Lord Berkeley, died in 1219, and, as Dugdale states, "was buried in the north aile of the Abbey over against the high altar, in a monk's cowl[3]."

Abbot David, who died in 1234, was buried, according to Barrett, "under a marble slab, with a skull and cross-bones, near the Elder Lady Chapel[4]." His patron, the first Thomas, Lord Berkeley, whose death occurred nine years afterwards, is said to have been interred "in the south aile, in that arch next to the rood altar[5]." He must necessarily have been buried in the older church; but his effigy was probably removed into the present edifice and deposited in an arched recess near the west end of the south aile. (20, in Plan). The armour is mostly concealed by the surcoat, which is fastened round the waist by a baldrick, whence depends a short sword. The helmet is cylindrical, without a beaver; on the left arm is a

three herrings, were given to each of one hundred poor men; with two bushels of peas to be divided amongst them. The Abbot had a cake worth 4*d.* with two casts of bread, and 4*d.* for wine;—the Prior, Sub-Prior, and Almoner, were allowed, severally, two cakes, worth 2*d.* each, one cast of bread, and 2*d.* for wine;—and to every friar of Bristol, and to every prisoner in the Newgate Gaol, there was allotted a loaf.—See also Barrett's History of Bristol, p. 250.

[2] In 1684, two large stones which had contained brass plates, and were supposed to have covered the remains of the founder and his lady, were removed from the entrance to the choir. They must, however, have commemorated some other personages, as monumental brasses were not used until after Fitz-Harding's time.

[3] Baronage, vol. i. p. 352.—On the vigil of his obiit, the Abbot had a cake worth 2*d.*, two casts of bread valued at 1½*d.*, and 4*d.* for wine. Every canon had a cake worth 1*d.*; and to every friar of the four orders in Bristol was given a loaf. This Baron gave to the canons of St. Augustine's "divers tenements, lands, and woods; also wine for oblations at the consecration of the body and blood of Christ," and endowments for "two lamps, before the *high altar*, and the *altar* where our Lady's mass was celebrated."—Dugdale, ut supra.

[4] History of Bristol, p. 266.

[5] Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 353.

shield, charged with the Berkeley arms[6]; and at the feet is a lion. This baron is said to have incurred the displeasure of King Henry the Third, by whose command he entered the order of Knights Templars. His effigy is represented cross-legged.

Abbot Long died in May, 1264, and, according to Barrett, was buried in the north transept. The second Maurice, Lord Berkeley, who died in the year 1281, is stated by Dugdale to have been buried in the north aile; but the statue in the central recess of the south aile (19, in Plan) was most likely intended for him.

The second Thomas, Lord Berkeley, was interred in this Church in 1321: Jane, his first wife, died twelve years previously, and was sepulchred "in the arch betwixt the vestry and the south aile." That recess (16, in Plan) was formerly open to the vestry; but the upper part, above a modern altar tomb, is walled up. The south side of the tomb is seen in the vestry, and bears the royal arms (See Plate viii. 3), and those of Berkeley (1 and 5), Ferrers (2), and Quincy (4)[7]. As the wives of this nobleman were of the two latter families, the monument may be ascribed to himself and his Ladies, although it has been usually attributed to the third Maurice, Lord Berkeley, who died in 1326.

Abbot Knowle, the re-founder of the Abbey, died in 1332, and to him may be ascribed the effigy within the recess (11, in Plan) in the north wall of the chancel[8]. It is habited "in pontificalibus," having a rich mitre, which rests on a pillow supported by angels, and at the feet is a lion.

The monument formerly attributed to Robert Fitz-Harding, and Eva his wife, may be assigned with more propriety to the third Maurice, Lord Berkeley[9], and his Lady, Elizabeth. It is an altar tomb of free-stone,

[6] See Plate viii. b, 1 and 5, for these arms.

[7] These armorial bearings, with an ornament of unusual character, are shewn in Pl. viii. b.

[8] See Vignette in the title-page.

[9] His father, Thomas, in 1346, purchased of the Abbot of Saint Augustine's "a place for a priest to dwell in; and to pray for the souls of all the faithful departed; endowing the priest with competent lands. He also gave, in 1352, a yearly rent of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to a priest to sing for the soul of Margaret his wife, who died 5th May, 1337, and was buried under the arch between the elder chapel of our Lady and the north isle."—Dugd. Baronage, vol. i. p. 358, 359.

placed under an open arch between the Elder Lady Chapel and the north aile (3, in Plan), bearing recumbent effigies of a male and a female. At the sides of the tomb are canopied niches and buttresses, but sadly chipped and mutilated. The male figure is habited in a mixed species of armour, consisting of chain mail covered with plates; the helmet is conical; the lower extremity of the hauberk, which descends below the surcoat, is of peculiar shape, being elliptical; the sollerets are pointed. The head rests on a mitre surcharged with a cross: on the surcoat is depicted the Berkeley arms. From the right and left sides depend swords, and at the feet is a lion [10]. The female figure is attired in a long vest, with very rich flowing drapery; the head reclines on a cushion supported by angels; and a greyhound reposes at the feet. The roof of the arched recess, within which the monument is placed, is adorned with quatrefoil panels; and at one end is an ornamented shield bearing the Berkeley arms. A modern inscription states, that Robert Fitz-Harding laid the foundation of the Church and Monastery in 1140, dedicated and endowed it in 1148, and died in 1170. The monument was repaired and painted in the year 1742, at the expense of Lady Betty Germaine.

Abbot Coke, according to Barrett, was buried in the Lady Chapel:—the fourth Maurice, Lord Berkeley, was also interred in the Church, but the place is not ascertained.

Sir James Berkeley, by his will dated 1404, bequeathed his body to be buried in the Abbey of Saint Augustine in his father's tomb, and gave six marks for a priest to celebrate divine service there for the health of his soul.

Against the east wall of the Newton Chapel is an altar tomb of gray marble (21, in Plan), which formerly sustained effigies of Sir Richard Newton Cradock, a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, who died in December, 1444, and of his wife. The statues were destroyed during the civil wars: but the monument was repaired in 1748.

[10] Mr. Gough, in his "Sepulchral Monuments," vol. ii. part. i. p. 28, has attributed this monument to *Robert Fitz-Harding*, who died in 1170. In an erratum he says, on the authority of Mr. S. Lysons, "it is unquestionably that of *Maurice, Lord Berkeley*, whose death occurred in 1368:" in p. 44, of the same volume, are engravings of the effigies of the second *Thomas, Lord Berkeley*, and *Jane* his wife.

In a recess on the south side of the chancel (14, in Plan) is an effigy, which has been attributed to, and was doubtless intended to commemorate Abbot Newland, or Nail-hart, whose rebus and initials appear on a shield, supported by angels, at the feet of the figure.

Against the north wall of the chancel (10, in Plan) is an effigy "in pontificalibus," supposed to represent Abbot Morgan.

The fifth Thomas, Lord Berkeley, who died in January, 1532, by his will directed that his body should be first buried in the church of Mangotts-field, in Gloucestershire: and after an interval of one quarter of a year, be removed to Saint Augustine's Abbey, and there interred near his first wife, Eleanor. He also directed his executors to maintain a chantry priest within the Abbey for ten years, and to expend forty pounds upon a tomb.

At the east end of the north aile is a low altar tomb (30, in Plan), which supports an emaciated figure of Bishop Bush, who died in 1558. The head rests upon a mitre, and by his right side is a crozier. Over each of the pillars is a shield bearing arms. Round the base and cornice of the monument is an inscription. On a grave-stone, below the altar steps, is inscribed, "Of your charity pray for the soul of *Edithe Busshe*, otherwyse called Ashley, who deceased the 8th day of Oct. A. D. 1553." His marriage with this lady caused Bush to be deprived of his Bishoprick.

On a massive altar tomb (22, in Plan) are effigies of Sir Henry Newton, Knight, who died in 1599, and of Catharine, his wife, the daughter of Sir Thomas Paston, of Norfolk. Underneath, are representations of six children. Another ponderous monument (23, in Plan), commemorates Sir John Newton, Bart., who died without issue in 1661, and whose effigy is shewn in armour.

Against the south wall of the chancel (13, in Plan) is a monument with a canopy supported by columns. It contains a tablet inscribed to Sir John Young, Knight, Dame Joan, his wife, and their family. The former died in 1603, aged seventy. Two kneeling figures of men in armour, a recumbent effigy of a female, and eight children in the attitude of prayer before a desk form the chief features of this memorial.

Near Abbot Morgan's effigy is a mural monument, with angels, and painted effigies of a man in armour, and of a woman, both kneeling at a

desk: underneath, are figures of seventeen children, also kneeling. This commemorates Sir Robert Codrington, who died in February, 1618, Anne, his wife, and their issue.

A monumental memorial of similar character (31, in Plan) is affixed to the south wall of the north aile. It contains a recumbent figure of a man, his left hand resting on a cushion, and in his right, a short truncheon; an inscription commemorates Sir Charles Vaughan, Knt. who died in February, 1630: two other tablets preserve the memory of his two wives, Frances, daughter of Sir Robert Knolles, who died sixteen years before her husband, and of Dorothy, who survived him.

On a black marble tablet, against the north wall of the chancel, are brief inscriptions to Bishop Searchfield, and Dean Chetwynd.

Beneath a grave-stone, under the east window of the north aile, are the remains of Bishop Westfield, who died in 1644, and of Elizabeth his wife. The word "expergiscar," on a plain stone near the bishop's throne, marks the spot where his successor, Thomas Howell, lies entombed; and Gilbert Ironside, a succeeding prelate, is deposited under an adjoining stone. Inscriptions on the floor of the north aile commemorate Dean Towgood, and Elizabeth his wife.

A mural monument of marble, at the east end of the south aile, bears a Latin inscription on Dean Booth, who died in 1730.

Bishop Bradshaw lies interred under a grave-stone near the pulpit. A similar stone, in the north aile, covers the remains of the Rev. James Harcourt, one of the prebendaries of the Cathedral, who died in 1739, and of his family. A black marble slab, at the upper end of the south aile, commemorates the Rev. J. Sutton, another prebendary, who died in December, 1745. A mural tablet, affixed to a pillar at the opposite extremity of the aile, bears a Latin inscription to the memory of Jacob Elton, Esq. captain of the Anglesea man-of-war, who was killed in an engagement with the French on the 29th of March, 1745.—Two flat stones near the entrance of the choir from the south aile mark the places of sepulture of Bishops Butler and Conybeare.

On a marble slab, in the north aile, is an inscription to the memory of Mary, the wife of the Rev. William Mason, who died March 27, 1767,

aged twenty-eight. A pathetic and truly poetical epitaph by her husband, the author of "The English Garden," &c. cannot fail of awakening sympathy and admiration in every reader of sensibility.

On a pyramidal monument in the north aile (5, in Plan), is the figure of an angel seated, holding a medallion likeness of WILLIAM POWELL, Esq. the eminent tragedian, and one of the patentees of Covent Garden Theatre, who died July 3, 1769, aged thirty-three. A poetical tribute to his memory, by George Colman, is inscribed upon the basement. This monument was executed by J. Paine, 1771.

The memory of NATHANIEL FOSTER, D. D. a prebendary of this Cathedral, is preserved in a long Latin inscription at the south end of the chancel. Foster died in 1757, in the forty-first year of his age, and had distinguished himself by publishing an edition of the Hebrew Bible, divested of points, and by an intimate knowledge of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages.

A mural tablet, in the south aile, bears some verses, by Mrs. H. More, eulogizing the REV. SAMUEL LOVE, one of the minor canons, whose death occurred in 1773.

In the transept, near the north door, (1, in Plan), is a monument by Bacon, raised in commemoration of MRS. ELIZABETH DRAPER, the famed *Eliza* of *Sterne*, who died Aug. 3, 1778. It consists of a plain basement supporting a pointed arch of Sienna marble; under the latter, standing on each side of a pedestal bearing an urn, are two female figures of white marble in *alto relievo*, meant to personify Genius and Benevolence, and a bird in the act of feeding its young, said to be an attribute to the latter virtue.

A slab commemorates the death and interment of DEAN LAYARD.

A pyramidal monument at the east end of the same aile (8, in Plan), bears a long Latin inscription, commemorative of THOMAS COSTER, Esq., sometime M. P. for the city of Bristol, whose death occurred in 1789.

In the south aile is a monument to WILLIAM GORE, Esq. formerly major of the thirty-third regiment of foot, and subsequently lieutenant-colonel of the Bristol Volunteers, who died in July, 1814. On a basement are statues in bold relief of two soldiers, supporting a medallion bust of the deceased. It was erected at the expense of the volunteers whom he had commanded.

A cenotaph in the same aile, by *F. Chantrey*, Esq. R. A. represents a

beautifully-executed female figure, intended to personify Resignation. It is seated on a Grecian stool, or chair, with the hands resting on the knees, and the head elevated, as in the act of pious supplication. An inscription underneath records the name of Maria Elwyn, wife of William Brame Elwyn, and the date of her decease, 28th of March, 1818. She was buried in the crypt of St. Michael's Church, Bristol. The beauty and simplicity of this admirable piece of sculpture forms a marked contrast to the monument last noticed.

In the Newton Chapel is a marble mural monument, containing a basso relievo representation of a female figure, supported by an angel, to commemorate Elizabeth Charlotte Stanhope, who died on the 13th of June, 1816. This was executed by R. Westmacott, Esq. R. A.

A small tablet, in the floor of the cloister, marks the place of sepulture of Edward Bird, Esq. R. A., a native of Bristol, who died on the 2nd of November, 1819. Few of the highly gifted artists of our times made a more rapid progress in his profession than the once amiable and estimable man whose remains are here immured; and who by unremitted and zealous devotion to attain excellence, neglected that bodily exercise and mental relaxation which are essential to health. The faithless promises of an officer at court preyed heavily on his spirits at a time when sickness had weakened his bodily frame, and tended to hasten his death. I knew him well, and revere his memory.

Beneath the window at the eastern extremity of the south aile is a handsome monument to the memory of Mary Spencer Grosett, who died at Laycock Abbey, in October, 1820.

In a recess of the north aile (9, in Plan) is a modern monumental Statue, by *E. H. Bailey*, Esq. R. A. It represents a female in a kneeling position, with the arms folded on the bosom, and the head bent forwards, in the attitude of prayer. It commemorates Harriet Isabella, wife of John Middleton, Esq. of Clifton, who died the 13th of May, 1826. An examination of this beautiful piece of modern sculpture and those by Chantrey and Westmacott, in this church, at once manifests the vast advancement in art and the improved taste of the present age over that immediately preceding it.

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE

Bishops of Bristol,

WITH THE CONTEMPORARY KINGS OF ENGLAND.

No.	BISHOPS.	Consecrated or Installed.	Died or Translated.	Buried at	Kings.
1	Paul Bush	Cons...June 25, 1542	Died .. Oct. 11, 1558	Bristol Cath.....	Henry VIII. Edw. VI. Mary.
2	John Holyman.....	Cons...Nov. 18, 1554	Died ..Dec. 20, 1558	Hanborough....	Mary.
3	Richard Cheyney	Inst..... 1561	Died..April 25, 1579	Gloucester.....	Elizabeth.
4	John Bullingham, jointly with Glouc.	Inst..... 1581	Died..May 20, 1598	Gloucester.....	Elizabeth.
5	Richard Fletcher	Cons...Dec. 14, 1589	Worcester. 1593; London. .. 1594; D. June 15, 1596	London.....	Elizabeth.
6	John Thornborough....	Inst. . . Aug. 23, 1603	Worcester, Dec. 8, 1616; Died July 9, 1641	Worcester.....	Jas. I. Charles I.
7	Nicholas Felton	Cons...Dec. 14, 1617	Ely.....1618; Died Oct. 5, 1626	St. Antholin's Ch. London..	Jas. I. Charles I.
8	Roland Searchfield	Cons... May 9, 1619	Died ...Oct. 11, 1622	Bristol.....	James I.
9	Robert Wright.....	Cons. March 23, 1622	Lichfield .. 1632; Died.....1642	Eccleshall, co. of Stafford ..	Jas. I. Charles I.
10	George Coke	Cons...Feb. 10, 1632	Hereford .. 1636; D. Dec. 10, 1646	Hereford.....	Charles I.
11	Robert Skinner	Cons...Jan. 15, 1636	Oxford....1641; Worcester..1663; D. June 14, 1670	Worcester.....	Charles I. and II.
12	Thomas Westfield	Inst....June 28, 1642	Died..June 25, 1644	Bristol.....	Charles I.
13	Thomas Howell	Inst...April 12, 1645	Died.....1646	Bristol	Charles I.
14	Gilbert Ironside.....	Inst.... Jan. 17, 1660	Died..Sept. 19, 1671	Bristol	Charles II.
15	Guy Carleton.....	Cons...Feb. 11, 1671	Chichester, Jan. 8, 1678; Died July 6, 1685	Chichester	Chas. II. Jas. II.
16	William Goulson	Cons... Feb. 9, 1678	Died .. April 4, 1684	Simondsbury ...	Charles II.
17	John Lake	Trans..Aug. 12, 1684	Chichester . 1685; D. Aug. 30, 1689	St. Botolph's, London	James II. Wm. & Mary.
18	Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Bt.....	Cons... Nov. 8, 1685	Exeter, April 13, 1689; Winchester, 1707; D. July 19, 1721	Trelawney, in Cornwall ...	James II. Wm. & Mary, Anne, & Geo. I.
	Knightly Chetwood....	Not confirmed.			
19	Gilbert Ironside	Cons...Oct. 13, 1689	Hereford, July 29, 1691; D. Aug. 27, 1701	St. Mary Somerset, Lond.	Jas. II. Wm. & Mary, Anne.
20	John Hall.....	Cons...Aug. 30, 1691	Died....Feb. 4, 1709	Bromsgrove	Wm. and Mary Anne.
21	John Robinson	Inst. ...Feb. 7, 1710	London....1713; D. April 11, 1723	Fulham.....	Anne, & Geo. I.
22	George Smalridge	Cons...April 4, 1714	Died..Sept. 27, 1719	Christ Ch. Oxf...	Anne, & Geo. I.
23	Hugh Boulter.....	Cons...Nov. 15, 1719	Armagh ...1723; Died June, 1742	Westminster ...	George I. and II.

No.	BISHOPS.	Consecrated or Installed.	Died or Translated.	Buried at	Kings.
24	William Bradshaw	Cons...Oct. 18, 1724	Died .. Dec. 16, 1732	Bath Abbey Ch..	George I. and II.
25	Charles Cecill	Cons...Feb. 25, 1732	Bangor....1734 Died.....1737	....	George II.
26	Thomas Seeker	Cons...Jan. 19, 1734	Oxford....1737 Canterbury, 1758 D. Aug. 1, 1768	Lambeth	George II.
27	Thomas Gooch.....	Cons...June 12, 1737	Norwich... 1738 Ely .....1748 Died.....1754	Caius Col. Ch. Cambridge ..	George II.
28	Joseph Butler.....	Cons... Dec. 3, 1738	Durham ... 1752 D. June 16, 1754	Bristol	George II.
29	John Conybeare.....	Inst....Jan. 14, 1750	Died .. July 13, 1755	Bristol	George II.
30	John Hume	Inst....July 23, 1756	Oxford.... 1758 Salisbury .. 1766 D. July 27, 1782	Salisbury	George II.
31	Philip Yonge	Inst. ... Aug. 4, 1758	Norwich... 1761 Died.....1783	Westminster	George II.
32	Thomas Newton	Inst. ... Dec. 8, 1761	Died.....1782	St. Paul's, Lond.	George III.
33	Lewis Bagot.....	Inst.. March 4, 1782	Norwich ...1783 St. Asaph ..1790 Died 1802	St. Asaph.....	George III.
34	Christopher Wilson....	Inst...June 21, 1783	Died.....1792	London	George III.
35	Spencer Madan	Inst... May 12, 1792	Peterborough, 1794 Died..Nov.8,1813	Peterborough...	George III.
36	Hen. Regin. Courtenay .	Inst...April 12, 1794	Exeter.... 1797 D. June 9, 1803	So. Audley-st. Chap. Lond..	George III.
37	F. H. Cornwall	Inst...April 20, 1797	Hereford...1802 Worcester..1808	Living	George III.
38	Hon. Geo. Pelham	Inst....Feb. 16, 1803	Exeter.... 1807 Lincoln.... 1820 D. Feb. 7, 1827	London	George III.
39	John Luxmore.....	Inst. ...Aug. 21, 1807	Hereford... 1808 St. Asaph..1815	Living.....	George III.
40	Wm. Lort Mansel	Inst. ... Sept. 3, 1808	Died.. June 27, 1820	Trin. Col. Camb.	George III.
41	John Kaye	Inst. ...July 17, 1820	Lincoln 1827	Living.....	George IV.
42	Robert Gray	Inst..... 1827	....	Living.....	George IV.

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE
Deans of Bristol.
WITH BIOGRAPHICAL MEMORANDA.

No.	DEANS.	Installed, &c.	Died or removed.
1	William Snow[1]	Appointed..June 4, 1542	.....
2	John Whiteheare	Installed ... Oct. 1, 1551	.....
3	George Carew[2]	Installed .. Nov. 5, 1552	Deprived 1553
4	Thomas Reynolds[3]	Installed.....1553	.....
5	Henry Jolliffe	Installed..Aug. 20, 1554	Deprived .....1559 Died 1573
6	George Carew	Restored..Nov. 10, 1559	Resigned.....1570 Died 1583
7	John Sprint	Installed..March 1, 1579	Died .....Feb. 1589
8	Anthony Watson[4]	Installed...July 22, 1590	Resigned 1598
9	Simon Robson	Installed March 29, 1598	Died ..... May or June, 1617
10	Edward Chetwynd[5]	Installed..June 16, 1617	Died..... May 13, 1639
11	Matthew Nicholls.....	Installed..June 22, 1639	Resigned 1660
12	Henry Glemham.....	Installed..July 28, 1660	Bishop of St. Asaph.....1667
13	Richard Towgood[6].....	Installed....May 1, 1667	Died .....April 23, 1683
14	Samuel Crossman[7]	Installed... May 1, 1683	Died .....Feb. 4, 1684
15	Richard Thompson.....	Installed..May 25, 1684	Died .....Nov. 29, 1685
16	William Levett[8].....	Installed .. Jan. 10, 1685	Died.....Feb. 11, 1693
17	George Royse[9].....	Installed March 10, 1693	Died ..... April, 1708

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMORANDA OF THE DEANS.

[1] The last Prior of Bradenstoke, in the county of Wilts.

[2] The many and rapid promotions of this gentleman shew that he was less devoted to God than Mammon. He was successively Chaplain to King Edward the Sixth; Precentor, Archdeacon, and Canon of Exeter; Archdeacon of Totness; Precentor and Prehendary of Sarum; Prebendary of Wells and Chichester; Chaplain and Dean of the Chapel to Queen Elizabeth; Registrar of the Garter; Dean of Exeter, Christ Church, Oxford, Bristol, and Windsor; Rector of Silverton, in the county of Devon; Master of the Savoy Hospital, and Rector of St. Giles's in the Fields, London, where he was buried. He was a sad waster of the patrimony of Windsor, leased out every thing, and if the visitor, the Lord Keeper Bacon, had not interfered, he would have ruined Windsor to provide for his family.—See an account of him in Eryth's Catalogue of the Deans and Canons of Windsor at the end of Ashmole's Hist. of Berks. vol. iii. p. 231.

[3] Fuller names Reynolds as Dean, and he is also mentioned in the manuscript list in the Chapter-room; but Le Neve and Browne Willis omit him.

[4] Watson was made Bishop of Chichester in 1596; but held this Deanery in commendam for two years.

[5] Was so much esteemed as a preacher, that, in 1607, the Mayor and Common Council of Bristol appointed him their public Lecturer. In 1613, he was made Chaplain to Queen Anne; and on the death of Dr. Robson, three years afterwards, was promoted to this Deanery.—Wood's Athenæ Oxoniensis, by Bliss, vol. ii. c. 641.

[6] After obtaining his degrees in arts, at Oxford, Towgood was made Master of the School on the College Green, Bristol, and afterwards Preacher at All Saints Church in that city. In the civil wars of Charles the First he was expelled from his benefice and imprisoned by the parliamentarians; but on the Restoration, was rewarded by being created a Prebendary of Bristol Cathedral, and subsequently Dean of the same church. The latter dignity he enjoyed until his death. He published several sermons which he had preached in opposition to the proceedings of the parliamentary faction.—Wood's Athenæ Oxoniensis, by Bliss, vol. iv. c. 85.

[7] Crossman had previously heen a Prebendary of Bristol Cathedral. Several of his sermons were published. He was buried in the south aile of Bristol Cathedral.—Wood's Athen. Oxon. by Bliss, vol. iv. c. 86.

[8] Buried in Christ's Church Cathedral, Oxford.

[9] Royse accompanied King William the Third in his expedition to Ireland, to reduce the force of King James the Second. He was afterwards made domestic Chaplain to Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, Provost of Oriel College, and promoted to this Deanery. Whilst he resided at Bristol, various alterations and improvements were made in the Cathedral.—Wood's Athen. Oxon. by Bliss, vol. iv. c. 506.

No.	DEANS.	Installed, &c.	Died or removed.
18	Robert Boothe[10]	Installed .. June 20, 1708	Died 1730
19	Samuel Creswick	Installed .. Sept. 8, 1730	Resigned 1739
20	Thomas Chamberlayne	Installed .. Dec. 24, 1739	Died ..... Sept. 15, 1757
21	William Warburton[11]	Installed .. Oct. 25, 1757	Gloucester ..... Dec. 22, 1759
22	Samuel Squire[12]	Installed .. June 21, 1760	Bishop of St. David's ..... 1761.
23	Francis Ayscough	Installed .. June 5, 1761	Died ..... Aug. 15, 1763
24	Putts Barton	Installed .. Oct. 19, 1763	.....
25	John Hallam[13]	Installed .. Feb. 22, 1781	Resigned ..... 1800 Died ..... Aug. 1811
26	Charles Peter Layard[14]	Installed .. Feb. 22, 1800	Died ..... May 11, 1803
27	Bowyer Edward Sparke	Installed .. May 28, 1803	Chester 1809
28	John Parsons[15]	Installed ... Feb. 7, 1810	Peterborough .... Dec. 12, 1813
29	Henry Beeke[16]	Installed ... Jan. 1, 1814	Living 1830

[10] Of this Dean, Browo Willis observes, " He has by constant resideoce, aod through his own example and interest in the Chapter, not only brought the choir service into so excellent order, that it is excelled by few others; but has ornameoted the fabric to so great a degree, by annually laying out considerably upoo it, as may he justly coofessed by a stranger that has had the satisfaction of visiting most of the priocipal chorches of Eoglaod, and fiods nooe more deceotly kept thao this."—Survey of the Cathedrals, vol. i. p. 787.

[11] For some account of this distinguished Prelate, see the Author's History of Gloucester Cathedral, p. 42.—In ooe of Warburton's Letters to Hurd, dated Sept. 28, 1757, he says, " I have just received an accouot that Mr. Pitt has asked the Deanery of Bristol of the king for me, who has graciously nominated me to it."—Io another Letter, Nov. 7, after bis appointment to the Deanery, he says, " Six weeks ago I was *bleeded* for a dizziness. It has huog upoo me more or less ever sinco; and I have been hled again. I dare say you smile and think with yourself, that if all the puppies who get preferment did hut undergo the same discipline, they would he much less offeosive to society than they are. My hlood is had."—Again, flattering himself and his sycophaot Hurd, he says, " I am afraid that both you and I shall outlive common sense as well as learniog in our reverend hrotherhood." Letter cxxx.—Few writers were more deeply embroiled in controversy than Warburtoo, which induced him to remark, in ono of his Letters to Hurd, " I am *wrote* against on the continent both in French aod in Latin, but with more deceocy than here, at home, in Billingsgate and English." Letter cxxi.—" It is my way to speak freely of meo aod things. I was born to please no party." Letter cxxv.

[12] Squire, who is described as a learned divine, was n native of Warmioster, io Wiltshire, and ohtained various promotions through the patronage of Dr. Wynn, Bishop of Bath aod Wells. He was advonced to the Bishoprick of St. David's, which he held only five years. He was author of several works, critical, religious, historical, and political. —See Chalmers's Biographical Dictiooary, vol. xviii.

[13] John Hallam, father of the learned author of " View of the State of Europe duriog the Middle Ages," &c. a native of Bostoo, in Liocoloshire, educated at Eton, and elected from the foundation of that school to King's College in 1748; ohtaioed the bachelor's prize in 1754 for a Latin Essay oo the tendency of the ancieot Greek Comedy, which has heeo considered by good judges, especially the late Dr. Parr, a specimeo of elegaot Latinity. He became afterwards private tutor to Henry, Duke of Buccleuch; and owed the Deanery of Bristol to the interest of that family, having previously hecome Canoo of Wiodsor, io 1775, through the private frieodship of Lord North. Dr. H. married a lady of ao old family in Moomouthshire, sister of the Rev. Dr. Roberts, Provost of Eton, aod author of some poems of merit. Though Dr. H. was much esteemed for his classical learning, and as a preacher, as well as on accouot of the unblemished probity and purity of his character, he never published aoy thing. In consequence of ill health, and other reasons, he resigned the Deanery of Bristol in 1799, and died at an advaoced age in 1811 at Windsor, where a Latin epitaph to his memory msy be read in the Bray Chapel.

[14] Dean Layard was a popular preacher, but from a volume of posthumous sermons it is evideot that he made free with the writiogs of his predecessors, without due ackoowledgment. He died of the gout in his stomach. Evaos, in his Chronological Outline, &c. p. 231, relates a silly story about him and the hrass eagle belonging to the Cathedral.

[15] For an account of Dean Parsoos, vide History, &c. of Peterborough Cathedral.

[16] The present worthy and learned Dean has greatly contributed to promote scieotific and literary inquiries in Bristol. He was Regius Professor of Modern History aod Languages in Oxford from the year 1801 to 1813.

A

List of Books, Essays, and Prints,

WHICH HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED RELATING TO THE

ABBEY OF ST. AUGUSTINE'S, AND BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

ALSO A LIST OF

PRINTS OF THE CHURCH,

AND

ENGRAVED PORTRAITS OF ITS BISHOPS.

THIS LIST IS SUBJOINED TO GRATIFY THE BIBLIOGRAPHER, THE CRITICAL ANTIQUARY, AND THE ILLUSTRATOR; AS WELL AS TO SHEW, AT ONE VIEW, THE SOURCES WHENCE THE CONTENTS OF THE PRECEDING PAGES HAVE BEEN DERIVED, AND THE FULL TITLES OF THE WORKS REFERRED TO IN THE NOTES.

MANUSCRIPTS, BOOKS, AND ESSAYS.

THE *unpublished Collections* relative to the History of Saint Augustine's Monastery are by no means numerous. It is generally understood that when that house was dissolved, the Berkeley family, as the descendants of the Founder, obtained possession of all its muniments; and there is now preserved in Berkeley Castle a record, called "*Abbot Newland's Roll*," being a concise history of the Abbey, and of the family of its founder, from the reign of Henry the Second to that of Henry the Seventh.

In Berkeley Castle there are three folio volumes in manuscript, completed and finished in 1628 by the *Rev. John Smythe*, who was Steward to the Lords of Berkeley, and held the living of North Nibley in Gloucestershire. These volumes contain "a most minute account of the works of piety and achievements in arms of the Berkeleys; their munificence; their public employments; the splendour and hospitality in which they lived; their property and law-suits; their domestic economy, sometimes even to a detail of their dinners; the number of their servants and men at arms; their dresses, amusements, and the like."—Seyer's "Memoirs of Bristol," Preface. See also Fosbroke's "Berkeley Manuscripts."

There are also, in the same repository, a similar *roll* in Latin, containing a list of the Abbots of Saint Augustine's; and an original *Chartulary* of the Abbey. The latter is a small folio, or large quarto, of vellum, about two inches thick, marked No. 25, and called the *Red Book*.

The Dean and Chapter of Bristol have in their possession a *Roll* containing the *Computi*, or accounts of the monastic officers, for one year, commencing at Michaelmas, in the seventh of Henry the Seventh, 1491, and ending at the following Michaelmas, 1492.

On the *Originalia Roll*, in the Exchequer, A° 26 Hen. III. r. 7, is a mandate to the sheriff of Gloucester to seize and appropriate to the king the Abbey of Saint Augustine, and to retain the same until, &c.

The *Patent Roll*, A° 23 Edw. I. m. 11, bears a grant of lands and privileges made to the Abbot and Canons; and a similar document is recorded on the *Patent Roll*, A° 5 Ed. II. m. 19.

Cole's MSS. in the British Museum, vols. x. xvi. and xxvii. contain various miscellaneous notices of the Abbey, Abbots, Bishops, and Deans.

In Smythe's "*Lives of the Berkeleys*," compiled from the muniments of that family, and published by the Rev. T. D. Fosbroke, M. A. 4to. 1821, are many incidental notices of the Abbots and of the monastic affairs of Bristol.

Dugdale's "*Monasticon Anglicanum*," vol. ii. edit. 1661, p. 232, 233, contains the Foundation Charter of Robert Fitz-Harding; some verses relative to that personage, from *Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle*;—Pat. 2 Edw. II. p. 2, m. 29, reciting and confirming the Charters of Henry, Duke of Normandy, Robert Fitz-Harding, and John, Earl of Morton.

Dugdale's "*Baronage*," vol. i. p. 350—368, contains various notices of donations made to the Canons of Saint Augustine's by the Berkeleys, and of the interments of members of that family within the Abbey.

Stevens, in his "*Supplement to the Monasticon*," vol. ii. p. 140, gives a list of the Abbots; and in Willis's "*Account of the Conventual Cathedral Churches*," affixed to his "*History of the Mitred Parliamentary Abbies*," vol. i. p. 226. 229, is a similar list.

In "*Rymer's Fœdera*" are the following documents, vol. v. p. 246:—*Pat.* 15 *Edw. III.* p. 1, m. 13. Writ excusing the Abbot from attendance in Parliament, "because he holdeth not by Barony, nor is his Abbey of royal foundation;"—vol. xiv. p. 748. *Pat.* 34 *Hen. VIII.* p. 10, m. 26—Charter of erection of the Bishoprick;—vol. xv. p. 77:—*Pat.* 37 *Hen. VIII.* p. 9, m. 25—As to the distribution of 40*l.* yearly in alms by the Dean and Chapter;—Ibid. p. 370—Commission to deprive Paul, Bp. of Bristol, A. D. 1554;—Ibid. p. 459:—*Pat.* 3 and 4 *Phil. and Mary*, p. 10, m. 24—Discharging John, Bp. of Bristol, from first fruits and tithes on account of his Bishoprick;—vol. xvi. p. 524—For John Thornborough, Bp. elect, to hold in commendam a Deanery and Prebend in the Church of York, on account of the poverty of this Bishoprick.

William of Worcester, in his "*Itinerary*," by Nasmith, 1778, describes the dimensions of St. Augustine's Sanctuary, p. 133; of the Abbey Church, 233; and of the chapels, offices, &c. 289.

Leland's "*Itinerary*," vol. v. fol. 64, vol. vi. fol. 49, and vol. vii. part ii, fol. 69, b. 70, and 71, b., and *Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 85, contain brief notices of the foundation of the Abbey.

Browne Willis's "*Survey of the Cathedrals*," 4to. 1742, vol. i. p. 758 to 803, has an account of the foundation of the Bishoprick, descriptions of the Episcopal Palace, Deanery, Cathedral, Monuments, and Monumental Inscriptions; likewise the endowments of the See and Chapter, with Biographical Notices of the Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and Prebendaries.

"*The History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol*," by William Barrett, Surgeon, F.S.A. Bristol, 4to. 1789, contains from p. 246 to 342, inclusive, an historical account of Saint Augustine's Abbey and its successive Abbots and Bishops; with a description of the Cathedral, &c.

In "*A Chronological Outline of the History of Bristol*," by J. Evans, 4to. 1824, are inserted, according to their respective dates, short notices of the foundation of the Abbey, of the succession of the Abbots, the erection of the Church, appointment of the Bishops, &c.

A few notices respecting the Cathedral and its Bishops may also be gleaned from the "*Bristol Memorialist*," 8vo. from 1816 to 1823.

Gough's "*Sepulchral Monuments*," vol. ii. part i. p. 28, fol., 1796, contains an engraving and description of the monument ascribed to Robert Fitz-Harding and Eva his wife;—Ibid, p. 44, descriptions and engravings of the effigies of the second Thomas, Lord Berkeley (A° 1241), and of Jane his wife; of Thomas Berkeley (1243); and of Maurice (1326);—Ibid. p. 93, account of Abbot Knowle's tomb;—and vol. ii. part ii. p. 201, description of the monument of Abbot Morgan, which he attributes to Newbury.

"*A Collection of Gloucestershire Antiquities*," by Samuel Lysons, F. R. S. and F. A. S. Lond. 1803, fol., contains, Pl. LXXXVII. to XCIX. inclusive, etchings of the following subjects, with descriptions, viz. S. W. View of the Cathedral—Niches in the elder Chapel of our Lady—Tomb of one of the Berkeley Family—Interior View of the Chapter House—Part of the South Side of ditto—East End of the Chancel—Stained Glass in the Windows of the Choir—Entrance to the Vestry—Interior View of the little Vestry—Vestibule of the Chapter House—Entrance to the Choir and Arms in the Vestry—Part of the elder Chapel of our Lady.

Buckler's "*Views of the Cathedral Churches*," &c. 4to. London, 1822, contains a North-east View of the Cathedral, with an architectural description of the Church.

"*Graphic and Historical Description of the Cathedral Church and See of Bristol*," written by Mr. Brown, published by Storer, with plan and seven views. 8vo. 1827.

The *Local Guides*, and *Pictures of Bristol* contain brief accounts of the Cathedral and notices of some of its monuments.

PRINTS.

Besides the Prints already specified in different books, the following have been also published.

In Carter's "*Antient Architecture,*" fol. 1796, Pl. xxxv. c. ii. p. 30, is an etching of a *Niche in the Chapter House.*

In Skelton's "*Etchings of the Antiquities of Bristol*" are the following Prints, drawn by J. Willis, and engraved by J. Skelton:—North-east Portion of the Cloisters of the Cathedral and back of Minster House—South Aile of Bristol Cathedral—The Sacristy of ditto—Altar Screen in the North Aile of ditto—View of the North-east Angle of the Chapter House.

A View of the Interior of the *Chapter-Room,* drawn and etched by E. Blore, is published in Seyer's "Memoirs of Bristol;" in which work is also a North View of the *Abbey Gate-house,* by the same artist.

Plan, Sections, Views, and Details of the latter building, in three plates, from drawings by *F. Mackenzie,* are given in "*The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain,*" vol. iii.

ACCOUNTS OF BISHOPS.

Godwin in his "*Catalogue of Bishops,*" 4to. 1615, p. 500, gives short Memoirs of the Bishops from 1542 to 1603. These have been continued by Richardson, "*De Præsulibus,*" fol. 1742, p. 563—569, to the year 1738.

Le Neve's "*Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ,*" fol. 1716, contains, from p. 48 to 51, a list of the Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and Prebendaries, to 1714.

Mr. J. S. Browne, in his "*Catalogue of Bishops,*" &c. 8vo. 1812, has given a list of the Bishops of Bristol from 1689 to 1808: and in Mr. Edward Boswell's "*Ecclesiastical Division of the Diocess of Bristol, methodically digested and arranged,*" &c. 8vo. 1829, is an account of the See, with list of the Bishops, Deans, and other Officers.

PORTRAITS OF BISHOPS.

JOHN LAKE:—*Loggan,* sc. 1688. In sheet of the seven Bishops; *R. White,* sc. *Grangcr.*

JOHN HALL, 1691:—Engraved from an original picture.

SIR JONATHAN TRELAWNEY, in sheet of the seven Bishops; *R. White,* sc.: also by *Gribelin,* inv. et sc. *Granger* and *Bromley.*

GEORGE SMALRIDGE, fol. prefixed to his Sermons; *Kneller,* del.; *Vertue,* sc. 1724.

HUGH BOULTER:—His own hair, sitting, holding a book; mez. *M. Ashton,* del.; *T. Beard,* sc. 1728.—Whole length, several persons attending as on a visitation; sh. mez. *F. Bindon,* del. 1742; *J. Brooks,* sc. *Bromley.*

JOHN CONYBEARE, 4to. *Bromley.*

SIR THOMAS GOOCH:—In his own hair, sitting; mez. *T. Hudson,* del.; *M'Ardell,* sc. Mez. *D. Heins,* sc. 1741. *Bromley.*

THOMAS NEWTON:—Prefixed to his "Works" with his Life, 1782, 4to.; *Reynolds,* del.; *J. Collier,* sc. Sitting; la. sh. mez. *B. West,* del.; *R. Earlom,* del. 1767. *Bromley.* Three qrs. len. View of St. Paul's; sh. mez. *Reynolds,* del.; *T. Watson,* sc. 1775. *Ibid.*

THOMAS SECKER:—Mez. *Hudson,* del.; *M'Ardell,* sc. Oval frame; mez. *T. Willis,* del.; *M'Ardell,* sc. *Bromley.*

CHRISTOPHER WILSON:—Sitting, holding a square cap; sh. mez. *G. Romney,* del.; *J. Jones,* sc. 1788. *Bromley.*

JOSEPH BUTLER:—8vo. oval, with his Arms: no name. Another, 4to., engraved by *Fitler,* after *Ramsey.*

List of Prints,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

Plates.	Subjects.	Drawn by	Engraved by	Inscribed to	Described.
I.	Ground Plan, and Plans of Parts	T. H. Clarke..	J. Roffe	.....	43, 44, 45.
II.	Vestibule to Chapter-house	W. H. Bartlett	J. Le Keux...	The Rev. J. Cross, M.A.	45.
III.	Chapter-house, interior View	W. H. Bartlett	J. Le Keux...	The Rev. W. Bond, M.A. Prebendary	45, 46, 47.
IV.	Chapter-house, Elevation of two Compartments; Elevation, Section, and Plan of Part of the Vestibule	C. Hacker	J. Le Keux...	.....	45—47. 54.
V.	View of the elder Lady Chapel	W. H. Bartlett	J. Le Keux...	Sir F. Freeling, Bart...	47.
VI.	Compartments of S. Side of Chancel, &c. Ditto N. Side of elder Lady Chapel.	T. H. Clarke...	J. Le Keux...	.....	47,48.54.56.
VII.	Section and Plan of the East, or Altar End	C. Hacker	J. Le Keux...	.....	48. 54. 55.
VIII.	Elevation of one Side of Vestibule to Vestry. Section of ditto, looking East; and Details	C. Hacker	J. Le Keux...	.....	55. 59.
IX.	Section through the Transept, Chapter-house, Tower, &c.	C. Hacker	J. Le Keux...	.....	18, 19. 50.
X.	View of the Church from the South-east..	W. H. Bartlett	J. Le Keux...	E. Dalton, Esq. F.S.A.	48.
XI.	Monument of a Berkeley, parts of principal Altar Screen, and Altar Screen in North Aile	Clarke & Bartlett	J. Le Keux...	The Dean of Bristol ...	51. 55.
XII.	View of N. Aile, &c. looking S. East	W. H. Bartlett	W. Woolnoth	The Bishop	48. 53, 54.
XIII.	View of Abbot Knowles' Monument, (Wood Cut)	W. H. Bartlett	S. Williams..	.....	59.
XIV.	Part of Chapter-house, (Wood Cut)	T. H. Clarke...	S. Williams..	.....	46.

A Chronological Table

OF THE

NAMES AND DATES OF DIFFERENT PARTS OF BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

Kings.	Abbots.	Date.	Parts of the Building.	Described.	Plates.
Stephen	Richard.	1142	Chapter-house and Vestibule	45, 46. 53 ...	II. III. IV. IX.
Henry III.	David	1234	Elder Lady Chapel	47	V. VI. VIII.
Edward I.	Knowles and Snow.	1306	Choir, Ailes, Chancel, and Vestry	48. 53, 54 ...	VI. A. B. VII. X. XII.
Henry VI... Edward IV.	Newbury and Hunt	1423 1481	Tower	48	IX.
Edward IV.	Hunt	1473 1481	Upper Part of South Transept	49	IX.
Henry VII.	Newland	1498	North Transept	50	IX.
Henry VIII...	Elliot	1515 1526	Stalls in the Choir	50	I. 27.
Henry VIII...	Somerset	1526 1533	Door-way into Elder Lady Chapel	51	1. 34.
Henry VIII...	Burton	1533 1537	Part of Altar-Screen, Organ-Screen, interior Decorations	51—55	VII. X.

INDEX.

ABBEY OF ST. AUGUSTINE, remarks on conversion of, 1; on the foundation of, 2; founded by Robert Fitz-Harding, 5, 6; completed, 6; building promoted by Prince Henry, 7; rights of infringed by the first Maurice, Lord Berkeley; lands conferred on by same, ib.; council held in, 8; possessions increased by Robert, Lord Berkeley, 9; visited by the Bishop of Worcester; dispute between the canons and brethren of St. Mark's Hospital, ib.; disordered; ordinances for regulation of, 10; visited by the Bishop of Worcester, 11; re-building of, commenced, 12, 48; visited by the Bishop of Worcester, irregularities prohibited by him, 12; gifts made to, by the second Thomas, Lord Berkeley, 13; works proceeded in, 13, 48; canons reduced in number by plague, 13; others licensed as priests at the age of twenty-two, 14; works suspended, 48; Abbey visited hy the Bishop of Worcester; ordinances made by him, 14; bull for making collections, 48; repaired, 16; works continued, 16, 48; visited by King Henry VII. 17; revenues of, 18; bequest to, by the sixth Maurice, Lord Berkeley, 21; dispute between the canons and townsmen, 20; decided, 21; Archbishop Cranmer preached at, 22; surrender and valuatien of, ib.; converted into a *Cathedral Church*, 23; measurements of, by William of Worcester, 49.

Abbey Gate-house, 45; repaired, 51.

ABBOTS OF BRISTOL, biographical notices of, —Richard and Philip, 7; John, Joseph, and David, 8, 58; Bradestan aud Long, 9, 58; Malmesbury and Marina, 10; Dodington and Barry, 11; Knowle, 12; Snow and Asshe, 13; Coke, 14, 60; Shellingford, 14; Cerney, Daubeney, Newbury, and Sutton, 15; Hunt and Newland, 16; Elliot and Somerset, 21; Burton, and ap Guilliam, 22.

Accounts of monastic officers, 17, 18, 20.

Ailes described, 53, 54; see plate xii.

All Saints Church, revenues of, sequestered, 20; extract from MS. as to repair of, ib.

Altars, lamps for, 58.

Altar-screen, 51, 55, plate vii. B.

Arches, first pointed, 45.

Ashfield, John, master of new works, 49.

Augustine the Less, church of, erected, 9.

Bagot, Bishop, 42. 66.

Bedminster held by tbe Bishop of Constance, 4.

Berkeley, lordship of, granted to Robert Fitz-Harding, 5. 7; third Maurice, lord, entrusts property to the abbot, 12; first Thomas, lord, monument of, 58; second Thomas, lord, bequest of, to the Abbey, 13; monument of, 59; third Maurice, lord, monument of, 58, 59; second Maurice, lord, monument of, 59; fourth Maurice, lord, interment of, 60; Sir James, interment of, 60; fifth Thomas, lord, interment of, 61.

Billeswick manor purchased, 4.

Bird, Edward, interment of, 64.

BISHOPS, biographical notices of, 23—42, (see their respective names); chronological list of, 65; accounts of and portraits, 71.

Books, &c. relating to the Abbey and Cathedral, list of, 69.

Booth, Dean, inscription to, 62; list, 68.

Boulter, Bishop, 38. 65.

Bradshaw, Bishop, 38; interment of, 62. 65.

BRISTOL held in farm by the Bisbop of Constance, 4; council held at, 8; visited by King Edward III. 11; depopulated by plague, 13; visited by King Edw. IV. 16; King Henry VIIth's reception, 17; visited by Archbisbop Cranmer, 22; by Queen Anne, 30; remarks on its eminent natives and its public institutions, Preface, vii.

Bush, Bishop, 23; monument of, 61; list, 65.

Butler, Bishop, 39; interment of, 63; list, 66.

Carleton, Bishop, 35. 65.

CATHEDRAL CHURCH, establishment of, 1, 23; interior arrangement of, 43; architectural character of, 44, 45; injured during civil wars, 52; repaired, &c. 53; interior described, ib. See list of prints, p. 72.

Cecil, Bishop, 38. 66.

Cellarer of the Abbey, account of, 18.

Chapter-house, architectural character of, 45; described, 46; alterations in, 53; view of, plate iii.; elevation of parts, plates iv. ix.; wood cut of parts, 46.

Chatterton, his poem "on the Mynster," 8.

Chetwood, Bisbop, 36. 65.

Chetwynd, Deau, inscription to, 62. 67.

Cheyney, Bishop, 26. 65.

Choir described, 54.

Churcb of St. Augustine the Less erected, 9; contributions towards repair of, 21.

Cloisters, 51. See ground plan.

Codrington, Robert, Esq. monument of, 62.

Coke, Abbot, interment of, 60.

Coke, Bishop, 32. 65.

Collector of the rents of tbe Abbey, 18, 19.

College Green, dispute respecting burial in, 9; extent of, and alterations in, *note*, 19.

Conybeare, Bishop, 40; interment of, 63. 66.

Cornwall, Bishop, 42. 66.

Coster, Thomas, Esq. inscription to, 62.

Courtenay, Bishop, 42. 66.

Cradock, Sir R. Newton, monument of, 60.

David, Abbot, 8; interment of, 58.

Deans, chronological list of, with notes, 67.

Deanery noticed, 56.

Diocess of Bristol, extent of, 23.

Doorway into elder Lady Chapel, 51.

Draper, Mrs. Elizabeth, monument of, 63.

Dundry Quarries, 49.

Edward IV., King, anecdote of, 16.
Elder Lady Chapel, described, 43. 47; view of, plate v.; elevation of one compartment, pl. vi.
Elton, Jacob, Esq. inscription to, 63.
Elwyn, Mrs. monument, 63.
Felton, Bishop, 30. 65.
Fitz-Harding, Robert, inquiry into his origin, 3, 4; founder of the Abbey, 5, 6; expenses of his anniversary, 18, 19. 57; monument erroneously attributed to, 57, 58; Robert, third son of, interment of, 58.
Fletcher, Bishop, remarks on his treatment of Mary Queen of Scots, 26. 65.
Foster, Rev. Nathaniel, interment of, 63.
Free-stone, prices of, 50.
Gallery erected in the Cathedral, 29.
Gooch, Bishop, 39. 66.
Gore, William, Esq., monument to, 63.
Goulson, Bishop, 35. 65.
Grammar School in Abbey, 19.
Gray, Bishop, 42. 66.
Groscll, Mrs. monument to, 64.
Hall, Bishop, 36. 65.
Harcourt, Rev. James, interment of, 62.
Henry, Prince, promoted the building of the Abbey, 7.
Holyman, Bishop, 33. 65.
Howel, Bishop, 33; interment of, 62. 65.
Hume, Bishop, 41. 66.
Ironside, Bishop, 34. 36; interment of, 62. 65.
Jordan's Chapel, 5, *note*.
Kalendaries, house of, rebuilt, 13.
Kaye, Bishop, 42. 66.
Knowle, Abbot, effigy of, 59; monument of, Title-page; part built by him, 47.
Lady Chapel, provision made for clerks of, 15; architectural character of, 45; attributed to Abbot Knowle, 47; noticed, 49.
Lake, Bishop, 35. 65.
Long, Abbot, interment of, 59.
Love, Rev. Samuel, inscription to, 63.
Luxmore, Bishop, 42. 66.
Madan, Bishop, 42. 66.
Mansel, Bishop, 42. 66.
Martyn, John, master of the works, 49.
Masonry, 19, *note*.
Middleton, Mrs. monument of, 64.
Minstrels, payments to, 20.
Monks-cowls, recesses so called, 57.
Monuments, 57 to 64.
Morgan, Abbot, monument of, 61.
Mortmain, statute of, 2, *note*.
Mynster, poem on the, by Chatterton, 8.
Newland, Abbot, effigy of, 61.
Newton, Bishop, 41. 66.
Newton, Sir Henry, monument of, 61.
Newton, Sir John, monument of, 61.
North transept, built by Abbot Newland, 50. See plan and section, plate ix.
Novices, note on education of, 19.
Oblations made at pysces in the Abbey, 19.
Organ erected, 52; screen, 55.
Palace repaired by Bp. Wright, 31; stripped of lead, 34; discovery in, 39; noticed, 56.
Pater-nosters of pearl, 12.
Pelham, Bishop, 42. 66.
Portraits of Bishops, list of, 71.
Powel, William, monument of, 63.
Prints, list of, 71, 72.
Pulpit noticed, 56.
Purveyor of the kitchen, account of the, 18.
Quay made, 9.
Rag-stone, price of, 50.
Rebus of Abbot Burton, 16, *note*.
Robinson, Bishop, 36. 65.
Sacrist, receipts of, 19.
Sacristy, 53.
Sanctuary, profits arising from, and extent of, 20.
Sawin of Clifton, præpositus of Bristol, 4.
Screens, see Altar and Organ.
Searchfield, Bishop, 30; inscription, 62. 65.
Secker, Bishop, 39. 66.
Skinner, Bishop, 33. 65.
Smalridge, Bishop, 37. 65.
Snow, Abbot, only one who attended parliament, 13.
South transept, built by Abbot Hunt, 48.
Stalls constructed by Elliot, 50.
Stanhope, Mrs., monument of, 64.
Sutton, Rev. J., interment of, 62.
Tabernacles, order for demolition of, 52.
Thornborough, Bishop, account of, 28. 68.
Tower, attributed to Abbot Newbury, 48; section of, plate ix.
Towgood, Dean, interment of, 62. 67.
Treasurer's account, 20.
Trelawney, Bishop, 36. 65.
Vaulting of side ailes, singular, 53.
——— of vestibule, 54.
Vaughan, Sir Charles, monument of, 62.
Vestiary, account of, 19.
Vestibule to Chapter-house, architectural character of, 45; view of, plate ii.; section, plan, &c. plate iv.
Vestibule to vestry described, 54, plate viii.
West end of church noticed, 51; leased, 53.
Westfield, Bishop, 33; grave-stone, 62. 65.
West window made, 52.
Wilson, Bishop, 42. 66.
Wright, Bishop, 31. 65.
Yonge, Bishop, 41. 66.
Young, Sir John, monument of, 61.

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